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Ignore 1969

You don't *have* to keep up with the news. But ignorance is hardly bliss when every life is touched by war and inflation, school conflicts and racial tension.

In a year that will be crowded with news—with new people and new policies—television will keep you informed—fully, fairly, objectively. Networks will bring you news of the world and the nation; stations will keep you alert to the significance of events in your own area.

The news, of course, is unpredictable. But in January television will cover the Inauguration, the new senators, the problems of cities, the pressures on rural America, and the role of Japan. Television is the unique, multi-faceted way of paying attention to 1969.

For openers, here's a partial listing of what's scheduled for January.

Correspondents Report—Part II. Year-end review. Wednesday, Jan. 1 (4:30-5:30 pm).

Mark Twain Tonight. Hal Holbrook's portrayal of the American humorist. Thursday, Jan. 2 (7:30-9 pm).

Male Of The Species: Prudential's On Stage. Sir Laurence Olivier, Sean Connery, Michael Caine, Paul Scofield in an original comedy. Friday, Jan. 3 (8:30-10 pm).

Meet The New Senators: CBS News Special. Freshmen Senators discuss their objectives. Sunday, Jan. 5 (5:30-6:30 pm).

First Tuesday: NBC News. Once-a-month presentation of special news stories. Sander Vanocur is anchorman. Tuesday, Jan. 7 (9-11 pm).

The Unexpected Voyage of Pepito and Cristobal: The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau. Story of two sea lions. Monday, Jan. 13 (7:30-8:30 pm).

To Love A Child. A study of child adoption and its problems. Monday, Jan. 13 (8:30-9 pm).

Le Champion: Jean-Claude Killy. Profile of the international ski star. Monday, Jan. 13 (9-10 pm).

Cosmopolis. The future of all cities and the problems they face, with reports from London, Rome, Helsinki, Los Angeles, Tokyo, New York, Stockholm. Monday, Jan. 13 (10-11 pm).

Bob Hope Christmas Show. Highlights of Hope's tour to entertain GIs. Thursday, Jan. 16 (8:30-10 pm).

The Inauguration. The networks cover the Washington ceremonies, including the Inaugural Ball. Monday, Jan. 20.

Voyage To The Enchanted Isles. Prince Philip narrates essay on the Galapagos Islands and their fascinating animal life. Wednesday, Jan. 22 (7:30-8:30 pm).

The Lions Are Free. Sequel to *Born Free* traces the life of the lions let loose in the 1966 film. Thursday, Jan. 23 (7:30-8:30 pm).

French—American Challenge Cup. French and U.S. ski teams compete at Aspen. Friday, Jan. 24 (10-11 pm).

Down On The Farm. The rapidly disappearing world of rural America. Saturday, Jan. 25 (7:30-8:30 pm).

The Children's Film Festival. Award-winning films from all over the world. Start of nine-week series. Sunday, Jan. 26 (1:30-2:30 pm).

Arctic Odyssey: The David Humphreys Polar Expedition. Close-up of Arctic expert's attempt to reach the Pole. Tuesday, Jan. 28 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Japan: CBS News Special. Edwin Reischauer, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan, tours Japan, discusses its history and current role. Tuesday, Jan. 28 (10-11 pm).

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday through Friday: The Today Show/Captain Kangaroo/Sunrise Semester

Tuesdays: CBS News Hour ("60 Minutes"/CBS Reports/Who, What, When, Where, Why)

Saturdays: The Banana Splits Adventure Hour/Storybook Squares/Untamed World/Shell's Wonderful World of Golf/ABC's Wide World of Sports

Sundays: Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up And Live/Bullwinkle/Camera Three/Discovery/Directions/Face the Nation/Meet the Press/Issues and Answers/The Catholic Hour/Animal World/The Killy Style/Frank McGee Sunday Report/G-E College Bowl/The 21st Century (Jan. 26)/Wild Kingdom (starts new series this month)/Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (NYT), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings: check also for noteworthy local programs.

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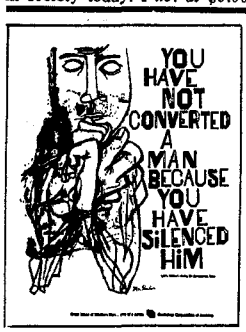

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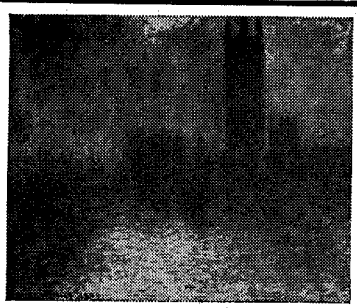

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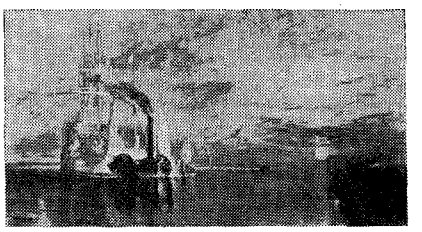

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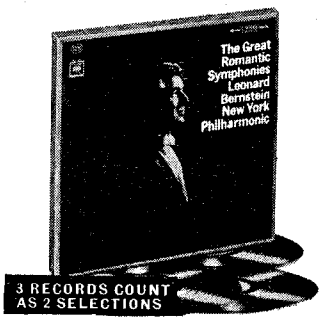

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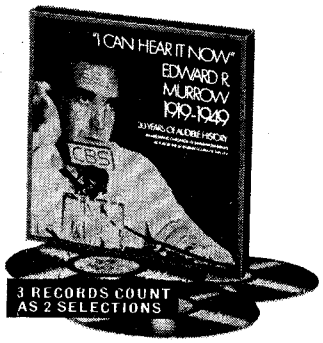

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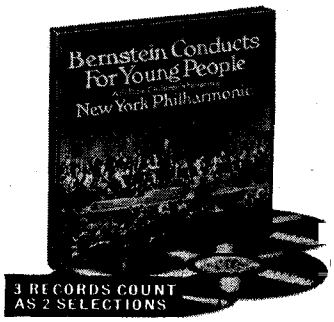

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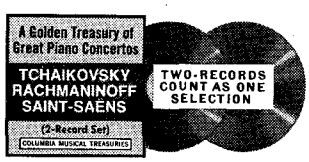

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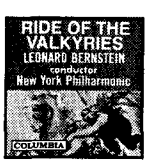

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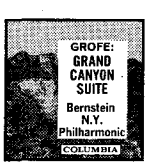

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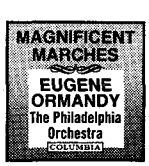

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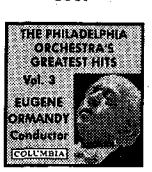

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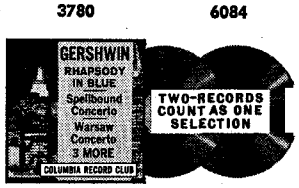

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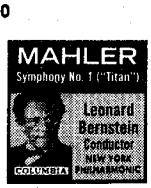

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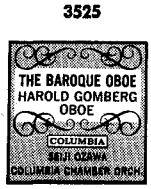

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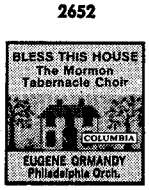

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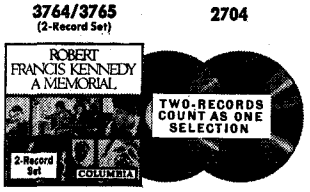

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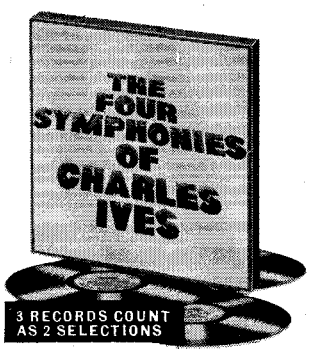

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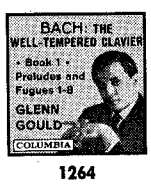

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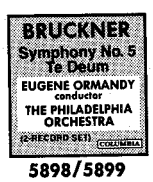

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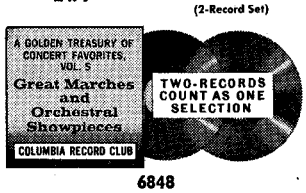
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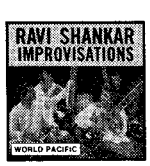

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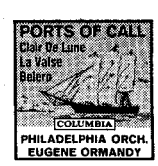

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T.R.B. from Washington

The Larger LBJ

★ We have watched the Presidents since Harding. Lyndon Johnson is the oddest one of all.

He will be making his three farewell speeches soon: budget, economic, State of the Union. Then he will ride up Pennsylvania Avenue in an open car to the Capitol, Jan. 20, Mr. Nixon waving on one side, LBJ on the other. And after the Inaugural, before the Republican victory parade starts, he and his wife will go off quietly with one or two guards to a modest leave-taking and fly-off – out of Federal service for the first time in 32 years, a private man.

His office as Senate majority leader in the old Capitol was like the Sistine Chapel. Allegorical nymphs floated around on the ceiling in de Medici magnificence. He fitted right in. His huge desk had so many telephones, buzzers and desk speakers that operating it was like playing the organ. It was breathtaking as he pushed buttons and spoke aloud as to some unseen presence. He constantly called up people for materials; always impatient, always complaining that he had been kept waiting half an hour. There was a drive and energy that might repel a man or, on the other hand, create a contagious energy and loyalty in subordinates in the feeling of his strength and the association with great power. It was like being in a cage with a restless tiger.

Here was a man with buoyancy, exuberance, coarseness and masterfulness, combined with weaknesses so visible and absurd as almost to disarm one. With petty vanity he displayed photostated copies of recent honorary degree citations. His sensitivity to criticism was patent as he launched into an hour-long stream-of-consciousness monologue, almost embarrassing at times. He was not a motherless child, he said, and in a second was striding across the thick carpet rocking a waif in his arms. This was no ordinary human; this figure was larger-than-life.

LBJ's Anomaly

★ Or take him on that fabulous 1960 Vice Presidential campaign train, nicknamed by 30 fascinated accompanying reporters the "Cornpone Special." It went through the South and won the election for Jack Kennedy. (*Everything* won the election for him.) Every Johnson appearance began and ended with loudspeakers blaring the "Yellow Rose of Texas" and, as he left Culpeper, Va., he gave the tag-line of the campaign as he shouted back with an expansive gesture to the largely nonexistent crowd, "What has Nixon ever done for Culpeper?" Still waving his arm he vanished down the converging steel rails.

What would an earthy, towering, sentimental, evangelical, over-sensitive figure like this be as President? Nobody knew. At times arrogant, then embarrassingly humble; shrewd and yet self-defeating; a manipulator of men, yet unable to communicate with the nation. Presidents nearest to him were Harry Truman and Andy Jackson. But how characterize one with a different personality at every peel of the onion?

It was strange how a sophisticated man could be so naïve; he set out to woo the press and make them a kind of mutual-aid cooperative. This was possible in Texas politics; it was sometimes possible as Majority Leader; but was never possible as President (after the honeymoon). The tension between public and politicians, press and Presidents, saves the nation; let voters listen, but always note the gap between what is promised and performed.

There is this gap with every President. Reasonable people will make allowances. But in Mr. Johnson's case the drive for secrecy was compulsive; he was congenitally devious. He would deny things under his nose. Then Vietnam went sour.

Call it "tragedy" if you like – a former special consultant to the President, Eric F. Goldman (Princeton), uses the te in his forthcoming book, *The Tra dy of Lyndon Johnson.* We do agree. Herbert Hoover was a tra figure all right; a well-meaning m crushed by forces he never understoo who insisted on going through t ghastly renomination and annihilatio

We put LBJ in a tougher catego Poor Hoover felt sorry for himself. did Johnson (enhanced by the persecu ed feeling that because he came fro Texas and lacked Kennedy's style, intellectuals hated him. Nonsense But the important thing, we think, that he did not give way but shifte tactics. Many won't agree; all right, w differ. Note that after the New Hamp shire primary he recognized that h had lost touch; with what grace he ha he bowed out; he gave his party reasonable chance of winning the ele tion; he began the humiliating busi ness of liquidating the war that he ha unwisely escalated. (Some wanted hi after that, to rescue the *Peublo* crew by force; this time he declined.)

Looking Back

★ We have searched out our notes tha we jotted down March 15, 1965 a Johnson made his night speech to joint session. We sat over his head looking down. Our notes are jerky, in coherent. . . . Strong and uncompromis ing speech . . . speaks slowly, effective ly . . . seems to come from the hear . . . confident, self-assured. His bes speech. . . .

This was the Johnson speech that led to the watershed 1965 voting rights bill. We caught phrases: "There is no constitutional issue, no moral issue. . . . It is wrong, deadly wrong. . . . We cannot, we must not refuse. . . . The time for waiting has gone. . . . I want to be the President who helped the poor. . . . We shall overcome." They applauded 40 times. And we discover that we jotted down "I shall always like Lyndon better for this speech."

He put a Negro into the Cabinet, another on the Supreme Court. He made America poverty-conscious. A strange man. A man hard to love. But a *tragic* man? We'll leave that to history. How good a President? Well, maybe we should put him back-to-back with Richard Nixon before making our final judgment.

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Cleaning Up the House

A happy new year to Rep. Morris K. Udall (D, Ariz.) who deserves it for his decision to run against John McCormack for Speaker of the House. He is ignoring the conventional wisdom offered by many of his peers. He risks retaliation from the aging, seniority-ridden but entrenched leadership, should he fail. But by taking the risk, he focuses public attention once more on the need to rid the House of domination by the antiquarians. In challenging McCormack, Udall, at 46, points up more than a difference in age. Gaunt and gray though he is, McCormack's failing is not that he is 77. It lies in the fact that he thinks even older, harking back to an era when ethnic politics was on the rise and FDR had not yet put together the coalition of Southern Bourbons, urban machine politicians and labor chieftains that now has begun to crumble. The 91st Congress is the last national stronghold of that coalition. It has lost the White House and most state capitols. If it can be overturned in one branch of Congress, there is hope that the Democratic Party can speak to and for the future. McCormack, who presides over what a fellow Democrat calls "the Boston-Austin axis" is the first test of whether modernization is possible this year.

If Udall's decision fails to convince people that he has the capacity for leadership, the ingenuity of his strategy should at least impress them. In a letter last week to his 242 colleagues, announcing that he will run for Speaker, Udall said if he wins the first round against McCormack, he will not consider it "the real election." Instead, he will open the door to wide-open competition in a second vote, inviting the candidacies of, say, Chairman Wilbur B. Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee or Majority Leader Carl Albert (D, Okla.), or both. It is a strategy that may encourage some of their backers, particularly Mills's, to join Udall in his initial effort to unseat McCormack. Udall will not seek formal endorsement of the liberally-oriented Democratic Study Group (DSG), though he can expect the support of most of the members. He has been meeting with them periodically since the November 5 election.

Udall's announcement blocks the possibility of a Mills-Udall ticket, which, had it prevailed, would have placed a bright, 59-year-old conservative with considerable personal ability in a position of great power. A Mills-Udall combination has been pushed by Mills's many backers in Southern delegations, for they, too, are restive at the ineffectiveness of the present leadership. Mills is willing. He has

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been mending his fences. Last fall, he campaigned energetically for the Humphrey-Muskie ticket, and he travelled from Pennsylvania to California on behalf of his friends in the House. He is more competent than McCormack, but in that he is not unique.

One who has argued against a joint effort with Mills is Rep. Jim O'Hara (D, Mich.), DSG chairman. Once elected, he has said, Mills would move quickly to build his own basically conservative coalition, one that would exclude the very liberals who had helped elect Mills to the Speakership.

The House of Representatives badly needs cleaning up. No private corporation that managed its business so shoddily could survive. As things now stand, for instance, the Democratic caucus fills only vacancies on the House Ways and Means Committee. The Democratic members of Ways and Means, in turn, act as a "committee on committees" to fill all other vacancies. It reports only to the Speaker and the full House. This means the caucus would fill only one vacancy this year – the one on Ways and Means. But other committee vacancies are of some concern. There are four Democratic spots to be filled on Judiciary. Were progressives to capture all four, they would have a clear majority from the Democratic side, needing no GOP help to control that committee. Or take the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Only two (Ichord of Missouri and Culver of Iowa) of the five Democratic seats on HUAC are filled. Three more sensible members could moderate its loonier behavior.

Another proposal for House reform that is being put forward is the holding of a "second caucus" at which the entire Democratic membership would pass on the work of the "committee on committees" before it reports to the House. If it did not like how the committee had done its work, it could order it to revise its lists. Such a review would help eliminate the practice of consigning promising young liberals from urban centers to such committees as Interior and Agriculture, a favorite practice of the leadership when it wants to put potential "troublemakers" in their place.

A move to make committee chairmen more responsive to the will of the majority is another possibility. Originally the idea of Rep. Richard Bolling of Missouri, it would allow the majority caucus to review and vote "up or down" each committee chairman. If a chairman were to be voted down, the caucus would then consider the person second in seniority. If put into effect, this method of selection could end the arrogant rule of committee chairmen from so-called "safe districts," who feel unaccountable to anyone, including their constituents.

Four years ago, with help from the leadership, liberals in the House succeeded in stripping the Dixiecrats – John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Albert Watson of South Carolina – of their seniority as punishment for openly backing Barry Goldwater. Willian subsequently resigned after being elected governer his state; Watson resigned immediately to retu home and win reelection as a Republican. This yea only one Dixiecrat, John Rarick of Louisiana, open backed the Wallace-LeMay ticket, despite its stro pull throughout the South. Rarick is a fairly anon mous figure, and the argument is made that his d viation should be ignored inasmuch as he has n power in the House and to discipline him would onl increase his chances of winning the governorship Louisiana the next round. However, a useful prec dent would be lost if the House Democrats were t look the other way, so Rarick may be disciplined.

The case of L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina i more complicated. The lordly chairman of Armed Ser vices, Rivers is close to the leadership, possibly be cause he has protected Speaker McCormack's interest (the Boston navy yards) over the years. He is no likely, therefore, to be disciplined for having quietl (not publicly) backed Wallace. This has had som amusing side effects. After some of his colleague started talking about Rivers's deviation, he explaine at lunch one day that it was all part of a clever strateg to help the Humphrey-Muskie ticket by diverting vot ers from Nixon to Wallace. He did not explain how throwing his arm around George Wallace at a Mary land rally had that effect in South Carolina.

There is one other crying need in the House – to upgrade the scantily staffed, under-financed and gen erally ineffective House Democratic Campaign Com mittee. Compared to the Republican operation, which has over 100 staff members and passed out millions of dollars to GOP candidates this year, the Democratic operation is pathetic. It is headed by Rep. Mike Kirwan (D, Ohio) who, in his eighties, is chairman of the Public Works Appropriations Subcommittee. Kirwan has used the subcommittee chairmanship and the campaign committee post to reward loyal members of the establishment, particularly from the South and urban machine areas, at the expense of young members from marginal districts. For years, Kirwan has never called a meeting of his campaign committee. It is run out of someone's hip pocket but, because of Kirwan's decline, no one knows exactly whose pocket.

Udall's call for a change at the top is well timed. "What we as a party do," he said in his letter to his colleagues, "or fail to do, in the next few years will be crucial. . . . We have a whole new set of problems and relationships to confront. Old political alignments and loyalties are changing in every section of the country; Republicans are moving strongly and often effectively to appeal to traditional Democratic voters and to the millions of new and younger voters. We must meet these challenges, and the kind of leaders that we have in the Congress will be critical."

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What Are We Waiting for?

An eight-sentence, page four story in *The New York Times* of December 20 (there's a restaurant ad alongside, inviting readers to feast on Christmas Day to trolling troubadours and "enormous portions") notes that over 30,000 Americans have died and nearly 200,000 been wounded thus far in Vietnam. Vietnamese deaths: half a million, at least. George Gallup, meanwhile, reports that as of early last month, 46 percent of those polled would let the South Vietnamese "take over the fighting and make all the decisions about peace and dealings with the Vietcong." Forty-four percent thought otherwise; ten percent, no opinion. There has, evidently, been a perceptible shift in public opinion. There is an ever-greater willingness to relinquish US responsibility for how any part of Vietnam is to be governed, or by whom. The casualties are coming home; the thought of more dead, more bombed villages, more children maimed and made homeless is increasingly repugnant. The public desires to be quit of this war, and the satisfaction of that desire is the new Administration's first task. It is also its primary need, if it is to make any headway in conciliating the disaffected young or in doing more than talk about "law, order and justice." This is appreciated by Mr. Nixon's foreign policy adviser, Henry Kissinger, who, in the January *Foreign Affairs*, urges a "staged withdrawal of external forces, North Vietnamese and American," leaving "the primary responsibility for negotiating the internal structure of South Vietnam [to] direct negotiations among the South Vietnamese."

Mr. Clark Clifford, outgoing Secretary of Defense, makes the same point. On November 12, 1968 and, more explicitly, in a TV interview last December 15, he recommended that our government deal directly with the North on military deescalation, and that other questions be left to Saigon, Hanoi and the NLF. Mr. Clifford said he was convinced "Hanoi would like to see a resolution of the conflict," and that it "is ready to enter into certain military understandings with us that would result in withdrawal of troops and a very substantial diminution in the level of the fighting." If that is so, and the Secretary of Defense is not an amateur in these matters, there is no excuse for delay. Washington-Hanoi discussions need not turn, Mr. Clifford said, on whether Saigon approves or disapproves; nor on who sits where at this or that shaped conference table: "I have no idea that we should maintain 540,000 men there [Vietnam] fighting while we wait for Saigon and Hanoi to come to some political settlement. That is not our obligation."

Of course, we used to think it *was* "our obligation." The US waded into Vietnam for no other than a political purpose – to prevent domination of the South by the Vietcong. One need not, however, begrudge our leaders whatever rationale they now require to reverse themselves. And they have a rationale. It is that, thanks to the US, the Vietcong has been so decimated and the Saigon government so strengthened that we can disengage, confident that the South will remain non-Communist. That will do.

The new Kissinger-Clifford line, if followed, should also permit a cutback in draft calls at home. Servicemen in Vietnam ought not be kept there simply because no replacements for them are available. But that consideration of equity notwithstanding, the number expected to be called by draft boards this month (26,800) is excessive – over two and a half times the November 1968 call. If mutual military withdrawals *are* negotiable and political problems *are* left to the Vietnamese to resolve, is it necessary to draft 33,700 men in February, as contemplated? In his campaign, the President-elect spoke warmly of the advantages of a volunteer military force. There could be no better time to put that idea into effect. The incoming Administration should state its intention to send none but volunteers to Vietnam – and as few of them as necessary.

"Dear Gen. Ky: I don't think much of the seating arrangements, either."

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Conservation's Future

It will be hard to get used to someone else as Secretary of the Interior. Stewart Udall was one of three Cabinet members who came in with President Kennedy and stayed until the arrival of Richard Nixon. His department never has the attention given to State or Defense, and although it is not without controversy it is not a lightning rod for opprobrium either. Indians and fishing rights, conservationists and decimators of redwoods, Colorado River Water and interstate rivalry – these are the Interior's day-to-day concerns, none of which arouses the popular passions of, say, the war in Vietnam or the demands of the blacks or the poor. All the more reason now that Mr. Udall is leaving Washington, to report on his record.

With public relations assistance from Mrs. Johnson, who has run the rapids with him more than once (he has on his wall a photograph of himself and Lynda Robb, rubber-rafted together on the Colorado), Udall has put away for safekeeping more park land, more irreplaceable natural resources than any Secretary in memory. He has not got rid of air and water pollution, deforestation and other environmental plagues, but he has fought creditably. By act of Congress or executive proclamation, some 246,000 acres of land were put into the National Park system during the Kennedy Administration, 3,605,000 under Johnson, and Udall deserves much of the credit for it. Since 1960, public use of the National Parks has doubled. Some 70 million visitors were recorded in '60; the estimate for 1968 is 153 million. In an age of rapacity, Udall with help from Congress added 59 new areas to the National Parks.

The record has its flaws. The Secretary and his Congressman brother Morris at first were sympathetic to the idea of constructing two giant hydroelectric dams on the Colorado, which conservationists insisted would flood a portion of the Grand Canyon land and reduce the river flow to a trickle as it passes through the Canyon. In this, they were Arizonians first and conservationists second. (Also, the powerful, independent Reclamation people at Interior wanted the dams.) The Secretary of the Interior was the less enthusiastic of the brothers, but both ultimately capitulated when it became clear that if the Central Arizona Project was ever to win approval, some other way would have to be found to finance bringing water to Phoenix.

Udall also caved in, perhaps under pressure from the White House, and authorized bulldozing a road through Sequoia National Park land to a Disney Productions ski resort in the Mineral King area of the Sierras. The slopes were to be in a national forest, the bailiwick of the Agriculture Department, but the road had to pass through a National Park, and Udall's consent was necessary. Here, commerce won out over conservation.

Conservationists see in the Redwood park controversy in California a third chink in Udall's armor. The Sierra Club, among other interested parties, wanted 90,000 acres set aside. Udall, hamstrung, fought for 43,000 and the Congress authorized 58,000.

But for all their reservations, conservationists are full of praise for Udall. Michael McCloskey, conservation director of the Sierra Club, whose tax exempt status irked Morris Udall and was ultimately revoked by the Internal Revenue Service, regards the Secretary as "one of the best, ranking right up there with [Harold] Ickes but maybe not above him."

This month, the management of Interior will fall to Gov. Walter J. Hickel of Alaska and to a President whose attachment to conservation is untested. Governor Hickel has made his personal fortune in real estate and hotels. He would not hold back virgin land for conservation's sake alone. He thinks of roads and ski slopes, hunting and fishing and hotels.

A traditional distinction between national forests and national parks is that the first are available for limited commercial exploitation. The latter are for the most part to be preserved in their virgin state. Mr. Hickel was not appointed Secretary of Agriculture and so will not preside over the national forests. He will, however, (assuming his confirmation) be the country's chief conservationist. There is a disquieting hint in his first public statements of a too business-like unconcern for bequeathing the untouched wilderness to coming generations: "Just to withdraw a large area for conservation purposes and lock it up for no reason doesn't have any merit in my opinion. We should expand the size of the areas in a way to benefit American people, both in recreation and development of natural resources."

An early clue to what Secretary Hickel has in mind will come in his handling of Alaskan lands. Alaska is unique in that most of its 365 million acres are owned by the US government. The Statehood Act in 1958 guaranteed to Alaska 103.4 million acres for development, but the state must "select" the land it wants and approve its claim before it can take possession. Some 120 million acres are to be reserved for national parks, memorial areas, game reserves, extremely valuable oil reserves and such. Alaskan "natives" (Aleuts, mainland Indians and Eskimos) have a historic claim to land too. A succession of court decisions and enactments since 1884 has promised that they would not be done out of land where ancestral possession could be proved.

Since December 1966, Udall has maintained an informal freeze on processing and approving claims to

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Alaskan lands, partly to protect the Indians and Eskimos from commercial exploiters. Hickel, elected governor in Nov. 1966, just prior to Udall's freeze, has repeatedly demanded that the freeze be ended. Last month Udall made the freeze official in a formal written order halting claims until the end of 1970, by which time Congress will have had an opportunity to resolve the demands of the Alaskan Federation of Natives for 40 million acres of Alaska and a settlement of $500 million.

Secretary Hickel may revoke the Udall order. He was not pressed on the Alaska claims issue at his first press conference following his appointment, but afterwards a reporter asked whether he could in conscience rule on the matter as Secretary. "Oh yes," he said, "I have very strong views on that."

Udall, however, has left a legacy nobody can touch – six new national seashores, four national parks, two national lakeshores, four national monuments, five national recreation areas, the first national trail, and the first national system of wild and scenic rivers. Interior set up a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in 1962; fought for Congressional funding of a Land and Water Conservation Fund in 1964, whose grants to states for their own recreation lands have only begun to show results; and broke a ten-year deadlock in Congress to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System.

Dorothy Elmhirst

Many pages of *The New Republic* have been turned over the past 55 years. They would not have been but for Dorothy Whitney Straight Elmhirst who died last month at the age of 81. Born to great wealth, she was moved to live for giving. Newspapers identified her as debutante, suffragette, clubwoman, educator, patron of the arts – which she was. But the unique person is not present in the sum of them. She was bold in thought, diffident in manner, catholic and discriminating in taste. She made place in her life and home for the hard-pressed and the hurt.

She and her first husband, Willard Straight, who died of influenza at the end of World War I, responded to the ideas in Herbert Croly's book, *The Promise of American Life*, by underwriting in 1914 this weekly journal of opinion, intended as Croly wrote in *The New Republic Idea*, to undermine the "morally pugnacious disposition."

Dorothy Elmhirst's support of *The New Republic* and its critical function was steadfast over three decades after Willard Straight's death, as was her belief in the need of dedicated journalism to do its work without fear of economic reprisal. She was a model of *noblesse oblige*.

Safety of Sweeteners

"There is no clear justification for the use of artificial sweeteners by the general public as a weight-reducing procedure."—National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council policy statement on artificial sweeteners, 1962.

When the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council studied the nonnutritive sweeteners called cyclamates for the Food and Drug Administration several years ago, it was felt cyclamates would be useful primarily for diabetics who must restrict their intake of sugar. It was emphasized that "the availability and consumption of artificially sweetened foodstuffs have no direct influence on body weight."

In spite of this, Americans annually are consuming 17 million pounds of cyclamates – the bulk in the form of 490 million cases of low calorie soft drinks – chiefly because they believe the cyclamate-sweetened food will help them lose weight. (See "Bitter News about Sweeteners," *NR*, Sept. 14.)

Part of the problem is semantic. Most of the diet drinks are labelled with statements in large type like "flavored dietary beverage . . . dietary caloric beverage . . . special dietary beverage." Technically speaking, this means the drinks may be useful for diabetics or for others who have been advised by physicians to cut down on their sugar intake. To the typical consumer, however, the "dietary" statements mean that the soft drink will help him diet.

"Psychologically, people feel they will lose weight by taking cyclamate-sweetened foods," says Dr. Fredrick Stare, chairman of Harvard's Department of Nutrition. "But I know of no evidence that nonnutritive sweeteners have helped anyone reduce. The problem is that they make up for these lost calories by taking extra portions of food and drink." As evidence, Dr. Stare cites what he regards as the classic study in the field – a 1956 survey of 247 obese persons by Harvard's Department of Nutrition and the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital. The obese individuals were divided into two groups – those who used noncaloric sweeteners and those who didn't. The study found no significant difference between the two groups in weight loss. Dr. Stare believes cyclamate industry interests would conduct a large-scale study of the effectiveness of their products as weight-reducing agents if there were any reason to believe cyclamates would be of such use. None has ever been done.

The issue here is drug efficacy. As a result of the Kefauver-Harris Drug Amendments to the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, the Food and Drug Administration is reviewing some 3,500 agents previously approved by the FDA between 1938 and 1962 with an

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eye to determining whether they are effective for the uses for which they were originally specified. In the case of cyclamates, the investigation seems superfluous. Cyclamates were not approved as a weight-control agent in the first place, yet that is why most people use them. "I believe," says Dr. Stare, "that when the cyclamates were first introduced the FDA advised their use for individuals with diabetes. And why they haven't continued to insist upon this restriction I just don't know."

Then there is the issue of safety. Dr. Stare has been involved in one particularly frustrating incident involving cyclamates. In 1965 a Japanese doctor studying under Dr. Stare at Harvard called his attention to a Japanese study in which three nonnutritive sweeteners – cyclamate, saccharin and dulcin – were tested on pregnant mice (dulcin is prohibited in the US). The Japanese study found that all three nonnutritive sweeteners killed or retarded mice fetuses when they were administered early in pregnancy.

The study interested Dr. Stare and when he was in Japan the following summer he made a special trip to visit the Japanese investigator who had conducted the study. "I wanted to size him up," Dr. Stare recalls. "I found him to be honest, intelligent and dedicated. He was not looking for publicity and I remember that he was upset at the time with the Japanese sugar industry, which was using his studies to try to discredit artificial sweeteners."

When Dr. Stare returned home, he wrote an introduction to a translation of the Japanese study and attempted to get it published in US medical journals. After *Science* and *The Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine* rejected the study for publication, he brought it to the attention of a Harvard scientist who is an expert on the human embryo. He agreed that it should be published here. But it never was.

Dr. Stare emphasizes that the Japanese study is no proof that cyclamates or saccharin are killing or retarding human fetuses. He feels, however, that it raises an important question that should have been brought to the attention of the American medical community and that should have prompted additional animal experiments. He believes the issue could be studied relatively easily in humans by reviewing records of stillborn babies at a large hospital in the South (where soft drinks are consumed at a high rate).

On the other hand, Abbott Laboratories, the biggest producer of cyclamates, and the Calorie Control Council, a conglomeration of manufacturers of low calorie foods and beverages, say animal studies have been conducted which indicate that cyclamates do *not* affect gestation or delivery of young. Also, recent animal experiments, although not yet published, are said to fail to confirm the findings of the Japanese study. In a recent "interim" report, the NAS-NRC committee backs off slightly from its earlier approval of cyclamates and emphasizes that "totally unrestricted use of the cyclamates is not warranted at this time." The study committee, though, reaffirmed its earlier ruling that cyclamates are not hazardous to humans. Strangely, the NAS-NRC committee did not mention the issue of drug efficacy – whether cyclamates are helping people lose weight. In addition, important recent studies on cyclamates were not examined by the NAS-NRC committee; for instance, a study by FDA investigators, who found that a breakdown substance of cyclamate – cyclohexylamine – can cause genetic damage in animals. Hard on the heels of that report came another from a cytogeneticist at the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology in Massachusetts, that human cells in laboratory cultures could be damaged by cyclamate itself. Although neither study proves that cyclamates work the same way in humans, they have opened the way for additional genetic studies.

There is also new evidence that cyclamates can interfere with the effectiveness of other drugs. A University of Michigan scientist has found that cyclamate halted the absorption into the blood stream of about 75 percent of an antibiotic that was administered to humans. The trouble here is underscored by the fact that cyclamate is sometimes used as a covering to sweeten pills and is mixed with liquid medicines to improve their taste. This potential danger was picked up by the NAS-NRC committee, which said: "There is some concern that these binding processes of the nonnutritive sweeteners may alter the activity of drugs or other chemicals into the body." The committee called for more experiments to determine whether cyclamates interfere with drug therapy in humans.

In another study, a group of Austrian scientists reported that cyclamates were harmful to the livers and the blood coagulation process in guinea pigs and rabbits. On the basis of their own experiments and after reviewing the literature, the Austrians declared that some persons "appear to be particularly endangered by uncontrolled use of cyclamate." Those who were warned about this potential danger included patients using anticoagulants and patients with a tendency toward decompensation with liver congestion.

One man who has been worried about the safety of cyclamates is Dr. Milton Rubini, editor-in-chief of *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*. "The fact that cyclamate-sweetened products may be used in copious quantities by children, pregnant women, and nursing mothers would make concern for long-term safety even more critical," he wrote recently. "The magnitude of the use of sweetening agents . . . is such that we cannot afford to find belated evidence of some subtle toxicity."

W. DAVID GARDNER

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Election à la Mode

Here, roughly, is the situation:

The incumbent party, though still the official home of liberals, has lost the fine edge of its crusading spirit through long years in power. It is divided, at war within itself. Its leader is not its candidate, though he is campaigning for his chosen successor, a faithful party stalwart. The principal opposition candidate, a man who has run unsuccessfully before, offers the voters a choice more of personality and style than of issues. A third party, led by a renegade from the incumbent party, while having no chance to win, is strong enough to prevent either of the others from winning with a majority.

This could be the US election of 1968, or it could be the Puerto Rican election on which we reported in our November 23 issue. It is neither. It is the Venezuelan election of December 1. The similarities are more than superficial: left behind are a very great many frustrated and discontented voters, who feel that somehow they were robbed of their franchise, not by fraud or corruption, but by the democratic process itself. And the real issue in this 1968 kind of election is not what the candidates talk about, but whether the democratic process can survive. That process has a long history of survival in the US, and it is pretty healthy in Puerto Rico as well. We have no reason, however, to be sanguine about its future in Venezuela. The last military dictator, Perez Jimenez, was overthrown only ten years ago, and in this election he won a Senate seat. The prognosis is definitely guarded.

By the accepted measure, Venezuela is doing well. Her per capita Gross National Product is almost $1,000, higher than that of any other country in Latin America, Africa or Asia (except Japan, Israel and Kuwait), and of several countries in eastern and southern Europe. Per capita GNP has been rising by almost two percent a year, despite what elsewhere would be a ruinous population growth of 3.4 percent. The reason is oil. Venezuela is the world's largest petroleum exporter. The problem is that income generated in mineral exploitation, like the proceeds of plantation agriculture, does not automatically percolate through the economy. Left to the impersonal forces of the free market, it leads to prosperous urban enclaves, effectively insulated from a hinterland that remains as primitive as before the first well came in, or the first banana plant bore fruit.

As Latin American governments go, the government, which for ten years has been led by Romulo Betancourt's Democratic Action Party, has done well at returning the petroleum dollars to the Venezuelan soil. It has been one of the few to support enthusiastically the principles of the Alliance for Progress. Respectable, though not lavish, amounts have been devoted to education. Highways, linking the countryside to the cities, have been built. Hospitals, irrigation systems, potable water systems, public housing projects, and many other needed public works have been funded with the revenue from oil. Capital has been made available to private enterprises in agriculture and manufacturing, with impressive results. Food production in Venezuela is increasing more rapidly than population.

People who are starving, however, are less of a threat to political stability than people who have begun to taste and smell comfort. The time is fast approaching, if it has not already arrived, when the rural millions of Venezuela will demand an equal place at the table. This can only mean a radical and sweeping program of land reform. The Democratic Action Party is proud of its land reform program, which is sensible, reasonable, legal, orderly—and totally inadequate. It is being pursued with all the force and drive of urban renewal and public housing in the US. If time could only be made to stand still for 50 years, it might catch up with the magnitude of the problem. Whether the Democratic Actionists had the will to carry out a radical and sweeping land reform is doubtful. Their more youthful and adventuresome elements have been splintering off to the left for some time; their commitment to respectability, as defined by the US State Department, is a heavy one. But whether they had the will or not, they lacked the power. Like the late government of Peru, like the present governments of Chile and Guatemala, and like the newly-elected governments of the United States and Puerto Rico, they have lacked the clear executive and legislative majority that alone, in a democracy, permits drastic measures to be adopted.

The Christian Democratic challenger, Rafael Caldera, who emerged the victor and next minority president of Venezuela, will be in no different position. Despite election rhetoric, he too is a reasonable man, who knows where the butter is on Venezuela's slice of bread. He can be counted on to carry forward the sort of moderate social and economic reform that has been so gratifying to Washington and that has done a great deal of good in Venezuela. But he has no mandate. There will be no 100 days of Caldera. He must manage a shaky coalition of jealous factions, and he cannot afford to step on any toes. If the rural poor, the urban unemployed, the students, and other disaffected groups, can be kept docile with small tidbits, he may earn acclaim as one of Latin America's more successful presidents. But if the unrest that is seething close to the surface in Venezuela erupts, he will be impotent, and another anti-parliamentary coup, such as we witnessed late last month in Brazil, is the most likely outcome.

David F. Ross

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European Expectations

Paris

Although De Gaulle's bold "no" rescued the French franc from immediate devaluation, it does not follow that public confidence in the General's government has been restored. The rumor-ridden French press keeps writing of an impending reshuffle of seats in the government (none dares predict when). But the same old names – Gaullists momentarily out of office – are listed as the "new" men: Pompidou, Giscard d'Estaing, Debré. "Gaullism without De Gaulle" is no longer mentioned: it is accepted that the General will not step down before the end of his term, four years hence.

De Gaulle worked hard to convince his countrymen that France had become a powerful shaper of world policy, of the international economy, even of nuclear strategy. But the strikes of last spring, the Soviet rape of Czechoslovakia, and then the crisis of the franc blew those pretensions sky high. Suddenly, the conviction has revived that France needs allies, allies stronger than herself, an idea that is anathema to De Gaulle. Simultaneously, and equally startling, the United States seems no longer the great villain it was a year ago. Not only has De Gaulle's notion of a Europe "from the Atlantic to the Urals" been shown up as a bad joke (thanks to the ruling bureaucracies in Moscow and the satellite capitals), but the concept of Atlantic Community has regained some of its former splendor. It is increasingly recognized that Western Europe needs close ties with the US to preserve its economic prosperity and political independence.

It is fascinating to compare the widespread animosity that Richard Nixon aroused in Europe so recently with the air of expectation, even goodwill that now prevails. This attitude has little to do with the person of Mr. Nixon. Any replacement of those who have been making policy in Washington would have excited expectations. It must be said, however, that the manner in which Mr. Nixon has behaved since his election, his reluctance to commit himself too quickly to new policies, the slow and careful way in which he chose his aides and Cabinet, some of his appointments (above all, Henry Kissinger) have earned him respect in Western Europe.

This expectation of something better, or at least different, is not limited to Western Europe. Poles, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Rumanians – so numerous in Paris – speak of hopes the change of administration in Washington has aroused in their countries. Quite naïvely, possibly, they seem to think that the new Administration will be less willing than was the old to accept rather complacently the notion that the Soviets may and will do what they please in Eastern Europe, without interference of any sort from the West, and from the US in particular. Lyndon Johnson's ardent wish for a final summit meeting with the Russians is known. (Apparently, however, the Russians know a lame duck when they see one and have politely declined Johnson overtures.) Still, people ask, might not the outgoing Administration make a last minute desperate effort to strike a deal with Moscow?

From all I can discover, there is very little sympathy – in Western or Eastern Europe – with any exclusive Soviet-American dialogue. A US-Soviet agreement that excludes third parties would be considered in Eastern Europe as a *de facto* ratification by Washington of all the Russians have done or may do in that part of the world. The Kremlin's desire for talks with Nixon is interpreted as a desire on the part of the Russians to show rebellious Czechs, Rumanians and Yugoslavs that any thoughts they have of US backing for their policies of independence are foolish. In Western Europe, likewise, the prospect of US-Soviet talks is regarded as working against another central US purpose: reformation and reorganization of the Atlantic Alliance. Mr. Nixon will have to choose between these purposes. The hope often expressed here is that he will choose first to reach a better understanding with Western Europe, and that any subsequent dialogue between the East and West will be between the USSR and a revitalized Atlantic Alliance, not just between Washington and Moscow.

PHILIP BEN

The Inflation Goof

It is time to say why we have a dangerously high rate of inflation in the United States together with the highest interest rates in 50 years. The explanation is not the grasping demands of labor unions for higher wages, nor the grasping demands of corporations for higher profits. It is not a "tight money" policy of the Federal Reserve Board or, as is sometimes insisted, a too-easy policy. It is not even the war in Vietnam.

The explanation is a truly mammoth mistake made by a handful of men, headed by President Johnson, in the four or five weeks leading up to the submission of the Federal budget in January, 1966. Next to the President himself, the chief culprit is Robert S. McNamara, then Secretary of Defense. Next come Charles L. Schultze, the otherwise first-rate Director of the Budget, and Gardner Ackley, the equally admirable chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. Some responsibility must also be attached to Henry H. Fowler, the Secretary of the Treasury.

If these five men had not made their colossal goof, there is every reason to believe that, war or no war,

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ve would today have a rate of inflation of close to 2 ercent instead of the far more dangerous 4.5 percent ate of 1968. Undesirable as it may be, the war did not nake 4.5 percent inflation inevitable – not if it had een paid for. The cost of the war never has amounted o more than 3.5 percent of the gross national prod- ct, and it could have been financed easily before une, 1968, when taxes were finally raised.

The error can be described briefly: in the budget ent to Congress in January, 1966, the cost of the war n Vietnam was unnecessarily underestimated by $10 illion. The consequences are a shade more complex, nd will be described. But the goof itself is known, dmitted, factual, irrefutable.

Total defense expenditures in fiscal year 1967 turned ut to be $67 billion instead of the $57 billion esti- nated in the budget. The federal deficit soared to $9 illion, instead of the balanced budget estimated by he President. From that big deficit and its sequel and arger deficit – unnecessary deficits – our troubles ave mainly stemmed. True, the delay by Congress in aising taxes in 1967-68 contributed to the mammoth $25 billion deficit in that year, but even that delay can be traced in good part to the deception of 1966.

These big deficits are the primary reason why, after years when prices were rising an average of only 1.3 percent and wages only 3.5 percent, we now have prices going up at 4.5 percent a year (enough to wreck a savings account or insurance policy) and wages at 7 percent. The goof is why the better part of Wall Street has a "credibility gap" about the federal government. It is why a home-buyer now has to pay 7¼ percent on a mortgage and, even more amazing, a triple-A rate Bell Telephone subsidiary has to pay 6.8 percent on a bond issue. The United States is in an advanced stage of the disease of inflationary psychology – and it all goes back to that decision of three years ago.

President Johnson was candid about the error in his speech Dec. 4, 1968, to the Business Council, but only partly so: "We knew we needed action on taxes in 1966," said the President. "Many of you in this room will remember what happened when, in the month of March, 1966, I asked how much support you would give me. Not a hand went up. And I was told that I could get but four votes in the tax committee of that Congress out of 25."

How true, but how misleading! The reason not a hand went up for higher taxes, and the reason the Ways and Means Committee had only four votes for higher taxes, was that Mr. Johnson two months before had presented a budget that did not *need* higher taxes. Why should businessmen or Congressmen or anyone else favor higher taxes when the President said the war would cost $10 billion although it was really costing, in that year, $20 billion?

The goof, like most goofs, was not wholly evil or wholly stupid. The original, published justification for the underestimate of the war cost – Mr. McNamara's primarily – was that the budget estimates were based on the assumption that the war would be over by the end of the fiscal year, or June 30, 1967. This had measurable, legitimate consequences for procurement and other expenditures. If the assumption had been right, the budget would have been right, or nearly so. Mr. McNamara said he did not want to make the Korean War mistake of building up too much war-related stocks, and it all sounded very reasonable.

Well, now we know how wrong the assumption was. But that is not all. Mr. McNamara himself had abandoned it as early as April. Mr. Schultze and Mr. Ackley knew by then that total spending was going to be billions higher than the figure in the budget. But that was about the time when the President was asking the Business Council to raise hands and was polling the Ways and Means Committee – all without a whisper that the spending figure in the budget was far too low.

The irony goes farther. The year 1966 was the second session of the Congress elected in 1964 in the Johnson landslide over Goldwater. The President, understandably, was pushing the burst of "Great Society" legislation. By midyear, Mr. McNamara was already arguing privately that it would be politically disastrous to admit the true costs of the war because such an admission would wreck the chances in Congress of the domestic legislation. The legislation passed. The cost of the war was finally admitted at the President's ranch in Texas in November, after Congress had gone home, and domestic spending was heading sharply upward as well.

So, because of an entirely avoidable error in 1966 and the consequent failure to raise taxes then, now we have inflation. These things always work with a lag, as Britain has been discovering. A wage-price spiral takes time to crank up steam. Now, at last, thanks mainly to the belated action on taxes in 1968, the budget has moved back into balance, but unfortunately it takes time to unwind an inflation once it has started. It may even have to be broken by a recession, with sharply higher unemployment. The Federal Reserve fussed with monetary policy during this trying period and confused almost everyone as money got very tight and then very easy – now it is tightening again, as the recent discount rate increase signals – but the Fed could not really be expected to cope with the vast budget deficits and keep the economy non-inflationary. The trouble is not in our stars, nor in the Federal Reserve, but in a major failure in Washington when the whole mess was beginning. It need not happen again.

EDWIN L. DALE, JR.

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Why So Few Good Schools?

by Joseph Featherstone

In addition to writing and math, the expressive arts too are serving as a focus for change in a few junior schools in Britain. Indeed, if the slow and uncertain educational reform has a traceable beginning, it lies in the 20's and 30's, when scattered teachers saw the results of encouraging children to paint on huge pieces of paper with real paints, not watercolors. A. L. Stone, who retired recently as an adviser in the West Riding, wrote a sketch of art in a slum school where he was principal in the early 1940's. *Story of A School* is an extremely close and perceptive account of the effect of expressive work in one school. Its vision of every child as an artist has an old-fashioned progressive ring, but for all its wispiness the book speaks for a vital and continuing tradition.

When he came to this school in its bleak setting, he managed to convince some of his teachers that the arts were the main thing to concentrate on. For, if you could encourage confidence, interest, and concentration in the arts, other things – including the 3 R's – would follow. So the school set about introducing children to unlimited color, all sizes of paper, clay in big hunks, mimes and massed movement, music.

What happened with clay was illustrative: some children messed around and quickly became surfeited, while others went on to become deeply absorbed, the greater the child's interest, the more self-discipline he would show, and the longer he would be able to concentrate. In the end, Stone found himself gauging the results of teaching by watching the intensity of the child's concentration.

In one class, children began moving and miming history lessons – Romans fighting ancient Britons. There was awkwardness and too much at the outset was done by the teacher, but gradually the children were moving to quite basic themes, working out their own variations on walking, skipping, running, hopping. As they grew confident and less embarrassed, they tried out simple dramas: miming creeping toward a tree, seeing something that scared you, running away. Stone compares a Nativity scene in the first year with another two years later. In the first, much of the liveliness of the drama was killed by practic In the second, the kings walked to Bethlehem as king should, regally. There came a stage in the mimin when children needed to frame silent speeches t themselves, and short commands and brief mono logues grew common. The children sometimes wante to record scenes that came out particularly well, an they would take great pains with the writing of wha eventually became plays.

The first results in art were pleasant enough, bu nothing special happened. Stone confesses that h wasn't particularly bothered about this, because at th time he doubted that most children *had* anything t say artistically. But with the development of move ment and mime, the quality of the children's art wor changed and came to life. Moreover, Stone and hi teachers began to suspect that when children wer deeply involved, the results of the work would mos always be satisfying, and that good work in one are would spill over in countless ways to other subjects (To his disappointment, however, the work in mat and music remained fairly formal and poor.) Ston and his staff saw something of a pattern emerging in art: most children seemed to need a period when they just fooled around, often unproductively, as far as any adult eye could tell; then they explored whatever medium they were working in; and at some third point they wanted help in getting something across. It was then, that teaching could be most effective.

I think it's worth emphasizing that the best teachers in the best schools I visited talked in similar terms. Far from being a frill, or something to keep the children busy with when they finished their academic chores, art is regarded as an essential, a touchstone of good teaching. The most striking difference between the many ordinary and the few excellent junior schools I saw was the vividness and variety of what was done in paint, clay, wood, textiles, lino and wood cuts, metals, prints. Invariably the quality of the children's art told a great deal about the standards of a school.

I might add a word about drama and movement. Drama at the infant level starts with improvisations

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the classroom touched off by some event, as when kids get caught up in a story. With juniors, it can range from wordless mime to plays that achieve a full written script, generally put on by the children for their own benefit, not for any wider audience. In any case, it's not necessary to have anything beyond some space, some time, a few all-purpose costumes, and maybe a percussion instrument or two. With the younger children, teachers start with simple suggestions: pretend the classroom is a jungle or a mountain, or the scene of an historical event. (Some wonderful variations can come from getting children to imagine they're making their way across the bottom of the ocean.) It's fascinating to see the relish very good children take in playing a witch, a poisoner, or Herod.

A lot of what is called "movement" is hard to categorize: it can be drama, exercise, or something close to dance. (It's always seemed to me odd that modern dance, one of the few distinctively American art forms, made so little inroad in our schools.) The spread of movement has been paralleled by the development of climbing and other kinds of apparatus for individual work in PE classes. Movement is a perfect physical metaphor for the style of education I'm talking about, but it's hard to describe. Short of trying out some movement – which can be ludicrous in the hands of an inept teacher – or seeing a class for themselves, the best way for American teachers to get an idea of what it's like would probably be through a good film. The Schools Council in Britain is preparing one and an American film-maker, Henry Felt, also has one in the making.

I've used examples in writing, math, and the arts to show, as concretely as I could, some of the work done in a few good schools. But why are there so few of them? I can sketch in some guesses.

About the general impression there is not much doubt. The Plowden Report described a survey made some years ago, which said that as children went from the infant to the junior level there is a "narrowing of opportunities, a tendency toward regimentation, and a substitution of group or even class teaching for individual work. Many children tackled less difficult work and wrote less in their own words than they had done some months before. The libraries in the youngest junior classes were often inferior in quality and range to those the children had left behind in the top infant classes, and children spent more time on 'readers' and less on library books. Individual interests in music and art and craft had petered out. Some boys whose ability and attendance were average or poor had fallen back in almost every respect when seen four months after transfer. They made little perceptible headway by the end of the year."

This is probably less true now – more junior schools have altered their ways, especially in a few authorities where reform has taken hold. Many of the junior schools I saw were at least struggling to change, if not always successfully. But in many others, the danger signs the Plowden Report cites in another context were too evident: "fragmented knowledge, no changes in the past decade, creative work very limited, much time spent on teaching, few questions from the children, too many exercises, too many rules, frequent punishments, and concentration on tests."

One big reason for this is the generally inflexible nature of the secondary schools. What is wrong with them is a long, long story, but in general they are even more meritocratic than our high schools, they brand more kids as failures, they are as prone to teach a curriculum and set subjects that don't make sense to a lot of their students. They are run, as R. F. Mackenzie has said of Scotch schools, by a combination of Mr. Micawber and Machiavelli. What the system does to failures is clear. What is less clear is what it does to the successes. Richard Hoggart has described the state of mind of a scholarship student, the product of the upper reaches of the British system. It may have a familiar ring to American readers: ". . . He begins to see life as a ladder, as a permanent examination. . . . He becomes an expert imbiber and doler-out; his competence will vary, but it will rarely be accompanied by genuine enthusiasms. He rarely feels the reality of knowledge, of other men's thoughts and imaginings, on his own pulses; he rarely discovers an author for himself and on his own. In this half of his life he can respond only if there is a direct connection with the system of training. He has something of the blinkered pony about him; sometimes he is trained by those who have been through the same regimen, who are hardly unblinkered themselves, and who praise him for the degree to which he takes comfortably to their blinkers. . . . As a result, when he comes to the end of the series of set-pieces, when he is at last put out . . . he finds himself with little inner momentum. The driving belt hangs loosely, disconnected from the only machine. . . ." Increasingly, the function of the schools becomes providing the credentials that justify separating out those who make it from those who don't.

Another reason for the slowness of change in junior schools is that the reform has seeped upwards from nursery and infant schools, whose methods were worked out over a period of 30 years. There isn't the backlog of traditions and materials that many of the infant schools now have. Older children need lots of material too; indeed, they need more, including open-ended curriculum materials that youngsters can choose to work with. A lot of junior classrooms I saw look starved for books and materials.

It may be particularly unlucky that the spread of informal methods from infant to junior schools is oc-

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curring at a time when primary education in Britain has never been so badly understaffed and underfinanced. The cumulative neglect of the primary schools – the Cinderellas of the system – is fascinating and depressing to me, since they are by far the most creative and important part of British education. And matters are getting much worse. In a number of places I visited, a junior school that was accounted pretty good two or three years ago was no longer considered worth looking at. Turnover of staff had completely altered the picture. Arthur Razzell has described how a principal feels who has developed some good informal teaching only to watch his staff disappear, to be replaced by people who have never worked that way before: ". . . Either I had to revert to a more formal and directed system of teaching until my colleagues had settled down and were in a position to try out new ways of working, or else I had to plunge straight on, giving all the support I could, and hope that they would be prepared to tackle informal teaching. Whichever course I took it was clear that our experimental work had come to an end too early for us to judge whether it was effective or not." Thus, many people fear that inadequate funds and staff will check the progress of a reform that has made such impressive gains in the infant schools. One or two of the gloomier older veterans, about to retire, worried that the Plowden Report could become the highwater mark of a movement that is already spent.

The movement seems far from spent in the authorities where change has spread farthest, and where the sort of thing I've described in this series is flourishing. I imagine that in Leicestershire and Oxfordshire, there will be more and more examples of this kind of teaching – in schools staffed by ordinary teachers. It is especially moving to visit an authority like the West Riding, where, in the face of incredible staffing problems and poverty, the reform still spreads. Here, harassed school authorities and teachers maintain a vision of what good teaching can be.

It is as a first step toward such a vision that I've tried to give some concrete examples. There are many dangers in writing in this fashion – the danger of becoming remote from our everyday sense of how ordinary schools work, the weakness of ignoring most of the disparate personal and social elements that go into making a promising setting for learning, the risk of talking about one style of teaching as if it were the the only effective way to teach. But the danger I'm most anxious to avoid is leaving the impression that one can single out a few elements of a good school and turn them into a formula to impose on teachers and children in other schools. There is no single lever to pull, no technical solution. What we can do is work toward an idea of the kind of learning we wish to promote. That, among other things, is a matter of choosing what we value. It would be sentimental t think that the kind of teaching I'm speaking of wi ever come about unless there are vast changes in ou educational system, just as it would be idle to spea about improving the attitudes and approaches of teach ers without also acknowledging that much of what i wrong stems from fundamental defects in America life. Where we draw the line, where we have to leav off tinkering with something that has to go will b the most important question in the next decade.

But there is more than one kind of sentimentalism and there is a tendency for appeals for fundamenta change to become sterile substitutes for thought an action. In some places, at certain levels – particularly, I think, in the early years – many of the schools ar ripe for change. Whether they move in humane o more rigid directions will depend, in part, on people' ideas of the possibilities in teaching. We'll need som specific notions of what a good job looks like. And we'll have to stop endlessly asserting objectives – dis cipline, the liberal arts, the 3 R's, basic education, even freedom and spontaneity – without being specific about how the objectives are reached.

Let me end by being specific. Children's writing may seem far-fetched, like giving IBM typewriters to monkeys, until you see schools where children *are* writing. Then a number of things occur to you about what should be learned in schools and how. Writing is a good way to learn, because an emphasis on written expression makes it more likely that children will build on the mastery of language they already possess, instead of having this destroyed, which is what a lot of our reading programs end up doing. This is not an argument for a crash program of making children write for three hours every morning. Writing can't be taught in isolation, as a separate subject. In order to write, there must be something to write about. There have to be books of all sorts – who wants to write about a character in a reader? – and talk.

If many people write most freely about their own experiences, then a priority in organizing the school day becomes providing a setting for experiences out of which writing and other kinds of expression can come. (They can, of course, be vicarious and imaginative experiences in realms far removed from everyday existence.) You can't, in most cases, get writing from children by command, but the more varied things there are to do and to choose from, the greater the likelihood of engaging children of diverse interests.

There is something else about writing. It offers the teacher the possibility of playing a different role from the conventional one. There isn't a correct answer, for one thing. (Not that there's anything wrong with learning that sometimes there is one right answer, but the schools have beaten that point into the ground.)

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since the experience is the child's own, he has to stick to it if the writing is to be honest. The teacher can't know more about it than the student; the teacher can be catalyst, editor, audience, guide, drawer-outer, or whatever, but she has to work with what the child gives. The student and teacher can both be – I wouldn't say on equal terms, for that is fairly rare – sharing a concern for the piece of writing and what it says. There is a basis for a conversation, something that is pretty rare in most schools. In a different context, talking about science, David Hawkins has described this as an "I-thou-it" relationship, teacher and student seeing each other in working relationship to some portion of the world around them, a pendulum, a tube filled with glycerine, soap bubbles, and, I would add, some writing or a clay sculpture. Until a child is working on *something*, a teacher has little to go on. Once there is something both are preoccupied with, the ground is laid for a man-to-man discussion. My impression of one kind of awful classroom reinforces this point: far from being impersonal, the room is filled with everybody's consciousness that a scary relationship exists between students and teacher. There is nothing but this relationship, and nothing gets learned. In good classes, relationships between students and teachers grow out of common interests. Cultivating these interests is the job of teaching.

Also, a teacher working with a child on a piece of writing can perform a service – encouraging his expression, helping him improve. Both the teacher and the child are apt to sense this, and it colors the relationship, especially with older children. A deep, unstated problem of the schools – a problem that gets worse as children grow older – is that what they teach is frequently not worth learning. One reason teachers in the early years of school seem happier than most is that they are teaching something that matters, reading. Teachers in later years are apt to be shaky about the value of what they're doing, with good reason.

It seems to me that in writing as in other areas, the work of the schools I've described is focussed on things that most teachers and children would consider worth the effort. The contrast with the sludge of memorized trivia in the later years of our primary schools is stunning.

This is the third of three articles on educational experiments in British junior schools.

A Memo to the President-Elect

Protecting the Consumer

by Morton Mintz

In his election campaign, Mr. Nixon all but ignored consumer protection and the prevention of avoidable diseases. He can't do it now. Two of the Senate's most dogged advocates of these causes, Warren G. Magnuson and Gaylord Nelson, won reelection with huge majorities. Magnuson is chairman of the powerful Senate Commerce Committee. The new President will face, quite soon, not one but a series of confrontations with consumer champions.

For example, June 30 is the expiration date for a moratorium that Congress enacted to prevent the Federal Trade Commission from requiring cigarette makers to include a health warning in advertising. The manufacturers don't much care about the caution on the pack. It is widely ignored and may immunize them from lawsuits filed by smokers who develop lung cancer and other dread afflictions. But the thought of putting a warning about lung cancer in advertising frightens the companies. This is a serious matter; of the 50,000 lung cancer deaths a year, most are blamed on cigarettes. Nixon's choices will be the standard ones – support such a bill, oppose it or duck it. Suppose that, regardless of what he does, the moratorium is allowed to expire, freeing the FTC to act. The chances are that it *will* act – provided the assumed majority now prevailing remains intact. But the term of one majority Commissioner, James M. Nicholson, expires next Sept. 29. Whether Nixon reappoints him, or appoints someone of like views on the cigarette issue, may decide the ball game. (Incidentally, another member of the majority, Mary Gardiner Jones, is the only Re-

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publican on the five-member Commission. She has taken a tougher stance on the cigarette issue than has the chairman, Paul Rand Dixon, a Democrat. By promoting Miss Jones to Commission chairman, Nixon could validate his campaign complaints about tired blood in federal office.)

June 30 is also the expiration date for the funding authorization for the National Traffic Safety Agency. This regulatory unit is responsible for enforcing the auto safety law. This problem is massive: an annual toll of more than 50,000 deaths and several million injuries, not to mention property damage on the order of $8 billion. In addition to devising safety performance standards each year, the Safety Agency is starting to implement a program under which, starting with the 1970 models, manufacturers would be required to inform buyers about performance characteristics, such as stopping distances (to enable buyers to compare brake effectiveness). Whether the Agency does a good job or a bad one; whether it is firmly or faintly administered; whether the White House takes the side of the car makers or the car buyers; whether the agency is given or denied the funds it needs (its current appropriation is a slim $96 million) – will determine whether more people are needlessly killed or injured than most anything the new President can do about crime in the streets.

The National Commission on Product Safety, created in 1967, was directed by Congress to "conduct a comprehensive study and investigation of the scope and adequacy of measures now employed to protect consumers against unreasonable risk of injuries which may be caused by hazardous household products." In a joint resolution, Congress said that "the American consumer has *a right* to be protected against unreasonable risk of bodily harm from products purchased on the open market for the use of himself and his family." (Emphasis supplied.) By rough estimates, accidents in and around households annually take 18,000 to 30,000 lives and cause 20 million injuries. Despite the availability to manufacturers of inexpensive safety devices, the wringers on old-style washing machines alone cause an estimated 100,000 injuries a year, mainly to children. The seven members of the Commission, who were named by President Johnson, have shown they mean business. An initial set of hearings was held in October in New York City; several others are planned in other cities. The Commissioners serve at the pleasure of the President. Will Nixon seek or accept their resignations? If he does, what kind of men will he name in their stead?

A few months ago, the Senate adopted a resolution to set up a Commission on Disease Prevention and Health Protection. Senator Magnuson, the principal sponsor, intends to revive the resolution and, this time, is almost certain to win the concurrence of the Hous In a letter last summer to President Johnson, eight the principal backers – seven medical scientists, inclu ing Dr. Ernest Wynder of the Sloan-Kettering Inst tute of Cancer Research, and the Senator – expresse the "strong conviction that if more attention was pai to preventive medicine and health protection, thou sands of lives would be saved and untold sufferin avoided. Millions of dollars would no longer be waste in economic loss and medical costs, and an unjustifiabl wastage of medical manpower would not result. . . . A position paper attached to the letter said, "To con tinue the present national emphasis upon treatmen and after-the-fact remedies, as opposed to prevention must be regarded as a failure of the health profession to adequately protect the population."

Take polio. In each of the five years, 1950 throug 1954, the average number of reported cases was 38, 727. Had the identical number been reported in 1967 the medical costs – a figure that excludes care of th victims, which sometimes lasts a lifetime – would hav been $40 million. But the first effective vaccine – pre ventive medicine – was introduced in 1955. And las year there were not 38,727 cases, but 50. The medica costs were not $40 million, but $50,000. Many preva lent diseases either "can be prevented entirely" or "ca be detected and cured in the early stages," the positio paper said. One example is glaucoma. Periodic test and appropriate treatment would save 3,000 victims out of a total of 3,500 – from total blindness each year. Another example is cancer of the cervix. Easily administered "Pap" smears can detect pre-cancerous changes in cervical tissue; malignant tissue can be surgically removed before it spreads. "And yet, today 14,000 women still die each year from cervical cancer. At least 9,000 of them could be saved if all women over 20 years of age had an annual 'Pap' smear and appropriate follow-up treatment."

The proposal for a disease prevention commission has the backing of, among others, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; a long list of medical educators and public health scientists, and medical directors of such companies as Celanese Corp., International Telephone and Telegraph Corp., Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), General Motors Corp., Eastman Kodak Co., and American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

Lest Nixon draw too sweeping a conclusion from the preceding list of large corporations, he might check the record of actual company performance as cited last Oct. 30 by Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson. At a conference in Chicago sponsored by the National Safety Council, she said that because it is dominated by "big business," that organization helped to kill the proposed Occupational Safety and Health

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ct of 1968. Mrs. Peterson described the result of the ill's failure: ". . . 55 workers will continue to lose ıeir lives on the job today, as every day; over 8,000 'ill continue to be disabled – some permanently; and ver 27,000 will continue to be injured daily on the ›b." In the $30 billion space program, Mrs. Peterson ointed out, "we have spent $400 million simply to ıake the Apollo spacecraft safe from such a tragic ccident as claimed the lives of three astronauts last ear." In contrast, total spending for industrial safety or millions of men – federal spending, state spending nd private spending combined – is "less than $96 mil- on annually." If Mrs. Peterson's explanation of the eath of the bill, which surely will be revived next ear by its main sponsors, Sen. Ralph Yarborough and ep. James G. O'Hara, is correct, it will be fought in 969 as it was in 1968 – with the "corporate might of ıuch of American industry." The proposed Occu- ›ational Safety and Health Act was the first bill of its ind to have Presidential backing – President John- on's. Will it have President Nixon's?

Because of the recent disaster in West Virginia in vhich 78 men were trapped, coal mine safety now veighs heavily on the public conscience. Reliable rec- ›rds of mine-accident casualties have been kept since 907 on deaths and since 1930 on serious injuries. hrough 1967, the score was 87,850 deaths and ',547,000 injuries. On September 11 last year, Mr. ohnson, noting that "our coal mine safety laws are nadequate," and that even "existing laws are all too requently ignored" proposed tougher legislation. ·lone kills more than 1,000 miners a year and con-

Then last December 12, Interior Secretary Stewart . Udall, at a conference on coal mine safety, acknowl- edged that the September legislative proposals – with which Congress did nothing – were inadequate. He unveiled a new Administration bill that was far more drastic but that holds genuine promise of making coal mining much healthier and safer. That bill will have powerful support on Capitol Hill, from Sen. Nelson and Rep. Ken Hechler (D-W. Va.), among others. The bill's across-the-board approach extends even to the individual miner, who could be fined $25 to $500 for a safety violation – a provision that won the instant enmity of W. A. Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers. It also would put limits on allowable coal dust, which causes the dreaded "black lung," or pneumoconiosis, and which in Pennsylvania alone kills more than 1,000 miners a year and contributes to the death of 1,000 more. By the admittedly conservative estimate of Surgeon General William H. Stewart of the Public Health Service, the disease afflicts 100,000 miners. But the slaughter is preventable: control the dust that clogs and shrivels the lungs – incurably, untreatably, often fatally. Other countries have done this. Great Britain, which pays out $31 million a year as compensation to miners with the disease, decided it would be prudent as well as humane to spend $10 million a year on prevention. It paid off. In the period 1954-59, the incidence of the disease per thousand men was 6.1; in 1967, it was 1.8.

Pennsylvania spends seven times as much on compensating victims of "black lung" as Britain spends on controlling dust. Dr. I. E. Buff, a member of the West Virginia Air Pollution Control Commission, once asked the owners of eight mines "to install chemical toilets, because the long-accepted practice of defecating in worked-out galleries was impregnating the air in working shafts with disease-producing filth." He told Hank Burchard of *The Washington Post*, "They calculated it would cost 25 cents per man per day and turned it down as too expensive . . . Imagine them spending, say, $3 per man-day for dust suppression."

All of these afflictions are to a significant extent preventable. In human terms, the stakes speak for themselves. But there is another consideration. Medical costs are constantly rising. One way to help check that trend is to reduce the demand for medical care. Prevention would do that.

In response to a request during the campaign, Nixon's aides provided a statement of his position on consumer issues. At one point, it said that our standard of living "is substantially based on self-reliance in the marketplace and the sound balance between rights and responsibilities . . . of businessmen and consumers under the free enterprise system." But "self-reliance" will not protect anyone from, say, a color television set leaking excessive radiation into a viewer who has no way of knowing that he is being sterilized. And what responsibilities can be assumed by a child whose nightgown, while not so labeled, is flammable – and who gets too close to a space heater? Persuading businessmen to assume their responsibilities is often difficult, unless there are sanctions in law. The collapsible steering column if installed on all cars would save an estimated 13,000 lives a year; it was kept on the shelf in Detroit until pressure was put on by Washington.

Nixon has recognized the need for "a thoroughly informed, self-reliant consumer." If he is to be thoroughly informed, the consumer should have health warnings in cigarette advertising; car makers should tell buyers what the brake-stopping distances are; appliance makers should disclose durability. To be thoroughly informed about the products they buy and which the Government buys, consumers should be given the results of testing that federal agencies now keep secret. Legislation to require such disclosure is advocated by Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal. He would welcome President Nixon's support. We all would.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Bergman and Pinter

Ingmar Bergman has made a film about something he hates, war, with people whom he loves, Max von Sydow, Liv Ullman, Gunnar Björnstrand, and the cameraman Sven Nykvist. This basic contrast, subtle and pervasive, is stronger than anything else in the film. Of course that contrast will be effective only with those who have some familiarity with Bergman's work.

Shame
(Lopert)
The Birthday Party
(Continental)

Well, I can't speak as someone who *doesn't* have such familiarity, and by now there cannot be many readers who don't have some acquaintance with Bergman, some sense of the accrued richness in his films through his reuse of persons and places. (*Shame* is set – again – on an island off the Swedish coast.)

To indulge this personalist criticism a bit further, the best bitterness in *Shame* comes from a feeling that Bergman conceived this script at least partly by imagining these actors, who are dear to him, being plunged into physical horrors; imagining the cameraman, who has captured so much delicacy for him, slamming down images of brutishness; and imagining the pearl-gray world of the Swedish islands, which have become Bergman's outer landscape of inner landscapes, ravished by flames and smashing. Those contradictions are the fundamental obscenity.

Bergman's method is bioptic. Instead of an antiwar film on a panoramic scale, he tells the close-up story of one civilian couple. It is 1971; no places or armies are named. On this island live a husband and wife (von Sydow and Miss Ullman), violinists who have retired here because the war has broken up their orchestra and because he has a tricky heart. At the start they are a couple with wrinkled, well-worn domestic patterns: he is a bit cranky, she is a bit cruel; he has his morning pill, she has her morning domination. But they love each other – periodically, at any rate. The waves of military filth gush and countergush over them, as invaders attack and are repulsed. (The director Vilgot Sjöman is briefly visible as an invader officer, I think.) By the end the couple have reversed roles; he dominates. The man who could not kill a chicken has killed a friend and a young unarmed soldier. The wife accepts these killings; had slept with that friend in order to protect their lives; has retreated for refuge into dreams of the child whom the marriage has not produced. The civilized people of the opening have become little more than survivors, whose chief ethic is to survive.

The three leading performances are perfect. Von Sydow seemingly doesn't know how to make a false move, and he makes the true moves so fluently that the design and skill in his acting are easy to scant. Björnstrand is the friend, the mayor who goes from power to sexual enslavement to execution; throughout he has a moving stolidity, a disbelief in the reality of any event even while that event is clutching him. As for Miss Ullman, whose third Bergman film this is, she now stands with Bibi Andersson and Vanessa Redgrave in the front rank of the world's young film actresses. She makes every moment crystalline, the quintessence of what it is about. I was about to praise the scene in which she sees her first dead body, that of a child, but that moment is no better – simply more dramatic – than those in which she frets at her husband or loves him or realizes what is happening to him and her or begins to go morally numb. Her face is snub-nosed, freckled, funny; it is also purely beautiful. Which means of course that *she* is funny and *she* is beautiful and has the talent to shape the character with her funniness and her purity.

Bergman knows how to rely on al this. The opening scene of *The Hou of the Wolf* consisted of Miss Ullma coming out of an island house, sittin at an outdoor table, and speaking di rectly to us for some minutes, a scen that was a triumph of her ability an his judgment. In *Shame* there is a sim ilar scene at a similar table where sh speaks at length to her husband (w watch over his shoulder), progressin from wistful unsatisfied maternity t immediate physical desire. Again sh plays the long scene excellently; agai Bergman shows us that masterly direc tion sometimes consists of not intrud ing, of allowing the right performe and the fact of film to come together.

Throughout, Bergman, with Nykvist devises pictorial beauties that drama tize visually what the scene is about, while the actors provide the correlatives: a close pyramidal shot of the husband and wife holding his old violin as they talk of their past musical lives; the long stretch of shore, like the edge of existence verging on nowhere; a scene by the side of a fast-flowing stream (like one in *Winter Light*) where the rushing water mutes the voices. Bergman insists on making physical textures speak – like the contrast between the weathered wooden siding of the house and Miss Ullman's fresh face in the doorway. And the scenes of violence are shot with a handheld camera, to punch us with immediate shock.

And yet . . . (a term that recurs in my Bergman reviews) . . . and yet *Shame* disappoints. First, it's too long. It says everything it has to say by the time the husband has killed his friend. (In fact *Shame* is about 20 minutes longer than most Bergman films since *Smiles of a Summer Night*.) Some of its ironies are facile, like a sequence in a shop full of 18th-century curios or the children's drawings in a schoolroom being used for tortured prisoners. But even if the picture were pared, it would still have too little to say – and by "say" I certainly don't mean utter or preach. It scrutinizes two people slammed about by war, not just to tell us that killing is horrible but also that living through the killing is horrible. *Shame* does this; nevertheless it is too linear, almost didactic, too bare of new evocation. Given these people and

(Continued on page 34)

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Books and the Arts

Weimar's Dazzling Moment

y Peter Jacobsohn

Veimar entered the American intellec-ıal consciousness only very late – not, ı fact, till well after its demise. Dur-ıg the 1920's, which marked the eight of Weimar's cultural and in-ellectual achievements, Americans ɔoked to Paris – the Mecca of the ex-ɔatriates, the adopted home of Ger-ıude Stein, the beachhead of the vant-garde. Yet over the long haul,

Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider
by Peter Gay
(Harper & Row; $5.95)

ɜerlin – which was the epitome of Veimar – was to have a greater effect ɔy far on American intellectual life han Paris. This began to become ap-ɔarent only in the 1930's, when the irst refugees to flee Hitler started to rrive in America. In terms of artistic ·nd intellectual distinction it was an ınparalleled migration, for among the emigrés (to name only some of the most brilliant) were Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Hans Hofmann, Paul Hindemith, Walter Gropius, George Grosz, Paul Tillich, Hans Morgenthau, Herbert Marcuse, Hannah Arendt, Erwin Panofsky, and Erik Erikson. In literature, science, painting, architecture, music, theology, philosophy, criticism, psychoanalysis – in short, in every field of intellectual and artistic endeavor – Weimar has left its undeniable imprint on American life.

Weimar's cultural efflorescence is now taken for granted, and this, in part, explains the resurgence of interest in this brief period of German history. In at least equal part, however, renewed interest has arisen because of the parallels, however fragmentary, that many people find between the political situation in the Weimar Republic and the politics of the United States in the middle sixties. Though they must not be pressed too firmly, certain correspondences do exist. Weimar was a society that cried out for fundamental political change and was denied it, as, some would maintain, America was similarly denied it in this past election. As in the Weimar of the 1920's, youth in the United States is in vehement rebellion against its parents. As in Weimar, artists and intellectuals are in the vanguard of those demanding change in American life; and, again as in Weimar, their effects have been largely balked by the society at large, their energies often finding release in cynicism, despair, decadence, or empty radicalism.

Professor Gay has now given us the first chronicle and interpretation of the Weimar years. His *Weimar Culture* is a virtuoso performance, not least because it has captured, with the greatest possible economy, a culture whose origin and essence were closely intertwined with its politics. Although Professor Gay presents his study as an essay, it is more: a brief historical introduction to a seminal epoch, and a work exhibiting such easy mastery of its material, subtlety of exposition and elegance of style that it can only have sprung from a passionate absorption in the subject and an almost sensuous delight in writing about it.

Gay shows that the Weimar Republic was never more than "an idea seeking to become reality" because the German Revolution of 1918 had not, in fact, been a revolution. To some extent, Weimar was a repetition of the unsuccessful revolution of 1848, down to the irony of adopting its flag. The attempt to turn the Germany of Frederick the Great, Bluecher, and Bismarck into the Germany of Goethe, Humboldt, and Schlegel was aborted. Both epochs reinforce Geoffrey Barraclough's recent judgment that "The essential feature of German history after 1815 . . . was the revolt of the German soul against the values of the Enlightenment."

There were, of course, other less fundamental reasons for Weimar's failure. The Social Democratic functionaries who took power in 1918, awkwardly and reluctantly, were at heart still the Emperor's subjects and only secondarily leaders of a republic. The new, progressive constitution merely obscured the fact that only the hands on the levers of power had changed – the nature and uses of that power remained intact. The pillars of the state, the civil service – including the judiciary – and the military command were left virtually untouched. Cartels flourished as never before. Political assassinations nearly became commonplace.

What provided moribund Weimar with the appearance of vitality was the sheer gusto and magnificence of its cultural rebirth. Professor Gay provides a superb account of the unfolding of this culture, rooted in the last decades of the Empire, nourished by European culture and invigorating it in turn. The movement that symbolized the early Weimar was that of the Expressionists, "who," Professor Gay writes,

> "execrated militarism and propagated the ecstatic vision of a regenerated peaceful humanity. . . . In their search for this new humanity they offered the public many heroes: the stranger, the sufferer, the suicide, the prostitute. But there was one theme that pervaded their work: the son's revolt against the father. And here art comments quite directly on life: it would be simplistic to interpret the November Revolution as just one thing, but it was also, and significantly, a rebellion against paternal authority."

But after the bravura of the Bauhaus and Grosz's cartoons, Brecht's plays,

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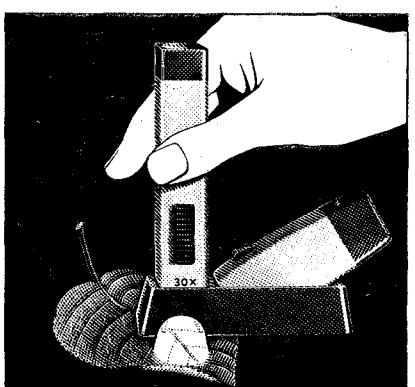
and *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, the relatively tranquil interlude between 1924 and 1929 saw Expressionism replaced by *Neue Sachlichkeit* – which literally translates as "objectivity" but is more accurately rendered as sobriety or matter-of-factness – a movement toward simplicity and clarity that was in many respects beneficial for the arts. In these "golden mid-twenties" Berlin became the undisputed cultural center of Germany; Brecht moved to Berlin, everybody moved there. The British ambassador, Lord d'Abernon, called the time after 1925 "an epoch of splendor in the Reich capital's cultural life." Berlin, with its 120 newspapers, its hundreds of cabarets, its scores of theatres, legitimate and experimental, its many operas, its publishing houses, its art galleries, its glitter and corruption, its drug traffic, its homosexual bars, had become irresistibly cosmopolitan.

But 1929 signaled the beginning of the end. A simple balance sheet tells the story of this brief but brilliant epoch: an insufficiency of political assets. On the cultural side an abundance of names, among them: Barlach, Beckmann, Klee, Feininger, Kandinsky, Mies vander Rohe, Mendelsohn, Klemperer, Weill, Reinhardt, Brecht, Cassirer. On the political side a solitary entry: Gustav Stresemann, a reluctant, though finally stalwart, convert to the Republic. (Walther Rathenau, its only other real political leader, had been assassinated in 1922 by right-wing extremists.) "Weimar of those years," Professor Gay says, "was like the society on [Thomas Mann's] magic mountain: ruddy cheeks concealed insidious symptoms." With Stresemann's death in 1929, depression and unemployment and unending political crises, the end was only four years away. What now set in was a period of lessening creativity, a turn to vulgar mass culture and a sense of ineluctable doom shared by artists and politicians alike.

The subtitle of Professor Gay's book is "The Outsider as Insider." To be sure, the cultural and political outsiders of the Wilhelminian period had become the insiders of the Weimar Republic. But many of those who had helped provide the impetus for political change during birth pangs of Weimar fared less well later, especially those scholars and intellectuals who became political activists. Many Weimar humanists were imprisoned, some were murdered. Of the three writers Gustav Landauer, Kurt Eisner, and Ernst Toller, who had played leading roles in the brief socialist experiment in Bavaria, the first was beaten to death, the second was assassinated by a right-wing fanatic, and the third imprisoned, barely escaping with his life. The real center of power allowed the outsiders to become insiders as long as they did not overstep the line of access to the apparatus of power itself. The murders of Eisner and Landauer – and Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg – were an effective warning. After this, most of the political outsiders in Weimar, whose idealism and fraternal enthusiasm the Republic needed far more than the humdrum abilities of party-functionaries, withdrew from political life. And in due time, for all its radiance, for all the glories of its artistic and intellectual life, Weimar surrendered to the barbarians. That view of history which sees man as essentially striving towards enlightenment has not since regained its confidence



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Making Criminals

by Ronald L. Goldfarb

Is Richard Nixon right? He said, after the 1967 urban disorder and the Kerner Commission report, that in his opinion the first order of business in dealing with the riot problem is to throw the rioters in jail. During his campaign he went out of his way to point to the federal prosecutive establishment as the key to restoring law and order. Essential to his attack on Attorney General Ramsey Clark and his stress on a prosecuting Justice Department and a constrained Supreme Court, is the conviction that more people ought to be in prison.

The Limits of the Criminal Sanction
by Herbert L. Packer
(Stanford University Press; $8.95)

Is the criminal sanction the best answer to race riots, vice, urban crime? For those who want a thorough, scholarly, orderly analysis of the question, this book is useful.

Stanford law professor Herbert L. Packer criticized the report of the President's Crime Commission last year for failing to challenge prevailing law enforcement dogmas and ignoring the central question: "What kind of conduct should count as criminal." Crime, Packer pointed out, is a community value judgment. "Crime is what society chooses to treat as criminal," he wrote in his essay in the *New York Review of Books*, and this is usually "everything we dislike about the behavior of other people." Loading the already pitifully overloaded criminal justice system with sexual deviates, drug users, gamblers and alcoholics causes many of the problems the crime commission talked about, and some of the problems they neglected to mention. A year before, in several impor-

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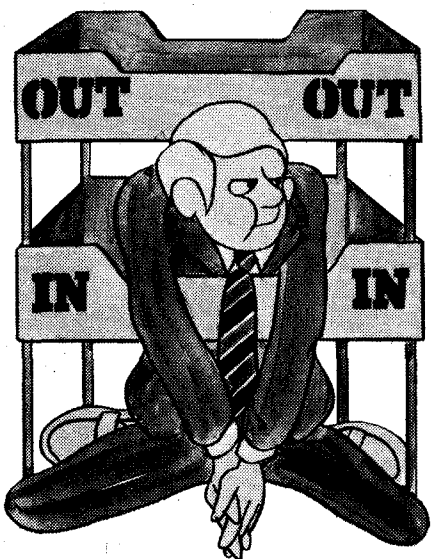

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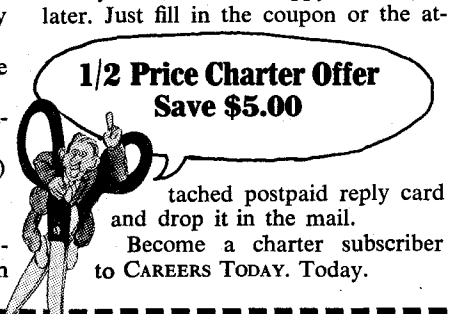

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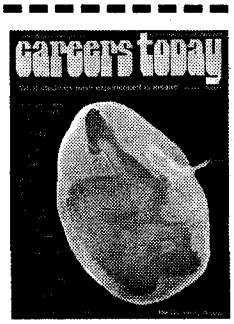

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tant law review articles published by the University of Pennsylvania, Packer had urged that we reconsider and reduce the areas of behavior that require recourse to the criminal law as a means of social control.

Now we have this large book about the criminal sanction, "the paradigm case of the controlled use of power within a society." It is a unique and ultimate power, one which "should be reserved for what really matters."

Walter Lippmann has brilliantly analyzed the distinction between predatory criminals who steal or injure others, and underworld criminals who provide respectable society with services and commodities that it demands, countenances, pays for, and even protects. The paradoxical difference between our appetites and our ideals was illustrated by the billion-dollar liquor business run by the underworld during prohibition, its products being "consumed by the flower of American manhood and womanhood." The same is so with many sex laws that do not permit conduct adequate "to appease the lusts of man," and of laws that do not take into account man's natural desires to gamble. In order to service their legitimate clients, the entrepreneurs of the underworld must organize with business and public officials. This unholy arrangement comes about, Lippmann pointed out, because our conduct and the working assumptions of our lives are disrelated to our proclaimed morality. In legislating against the oldest vices of men our nation has created organized crime. The double paradox is that only a tyrannical government could enforce such laws.

> "The underworld is what it is largely because Americans are too moral to tolerate human weakness, and because they are too great lovers of liberty to tolerate the tyranny which might make it possible to abolish what they prohibit. They have made laws which act like a protective tariff – to encourage the business of the underworld. Their prohibitions have turned over to the underworld the services from which it profits. Their prejudice in favor of weak governments has deprived them of the power to cope with the vast lawbreaking industries which their laws have called into being."

What Lippmann said in 1931 applies all the more today. Unless we square our morals with human nature, we are liable to get a government just despotic enough to enforce unnecessary criminal laws and make our lives more miserable. Recent examples of this tendency can be found throughout Packer's interesting study.

His book ranges over many other related subjects – several rationales for punishment, the philosophical bases of the criminal justice system, the uses of civil laws, regulation and compensation as alternatives to punishment, and the need for removing certain victimless crimes from the embrace of the criminal sanction. Packer examines the practical aspects of these problems (reducing clogged court calendars and assembly-line justice, unequal application of the laws prejudicing the lower classes, tensions between the public and the police, and unsavory law enforcement tactics), as well as their philosophical implications (balancing order and liberty, avoiding repressive public policies), and such analytical questions as the proper allocation c resources to prevention, the differenc between treatment and punishment and the proper role of criminal law in developing social values.

While one must suffer patiently through some wearying language, h does give us a systematic analysis, an his sensible ideas on the limits of th criminal sanction help us understan the changes in criminal law that mus come.

One important question is not treate by Packer: who ought to be consid ered outlaws. The majority of those in American jails today are check bounc ers, car thieves, alcoholics; only 10 to 20 percent of them would endange public safety if they were released. Perhaps it is the air and water pollu ters, the price fixers, the political cor ruptors, the price gougers, the slum landlords and the warmakers that our prosecutors should be pursuing. As Ralph Nader recently reminded us: "During the last three years, about 260 people have died in riots in American cities; but every two days, 300 people are killed, and 20,000 injured, while driving on the highways."

I recently asked Dr. Georg K. Sturup, creator and director of Herstedvester, a unique Danish prison for psychopathic offenders, whether all offenders should be considered victims of psychological damage. Indeed, he said, all criminals have psychological problems, not only those that led to their crimes but also some that result from their commission of crimes. He repeated what a former inmate had once told him: "I was not a criminal until I was caught, punished and society made me a criminal."

This is a thought worth pondering by those who will be administering the criminal justice system during the next Administration. Packer's valuable book will help them avoid, in their treatment of the crime problem, the criticism I. F. Stone made recently of the true Republican: "When it comes to a crisis he has only routine ideas."

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

PETER JACOBSOHN is an editor, translator and critic. RONALD L. GOLDFARB is a Washington attorney and author. His books are *Contempt Power, Ransom* and *Crime and Publicity*.

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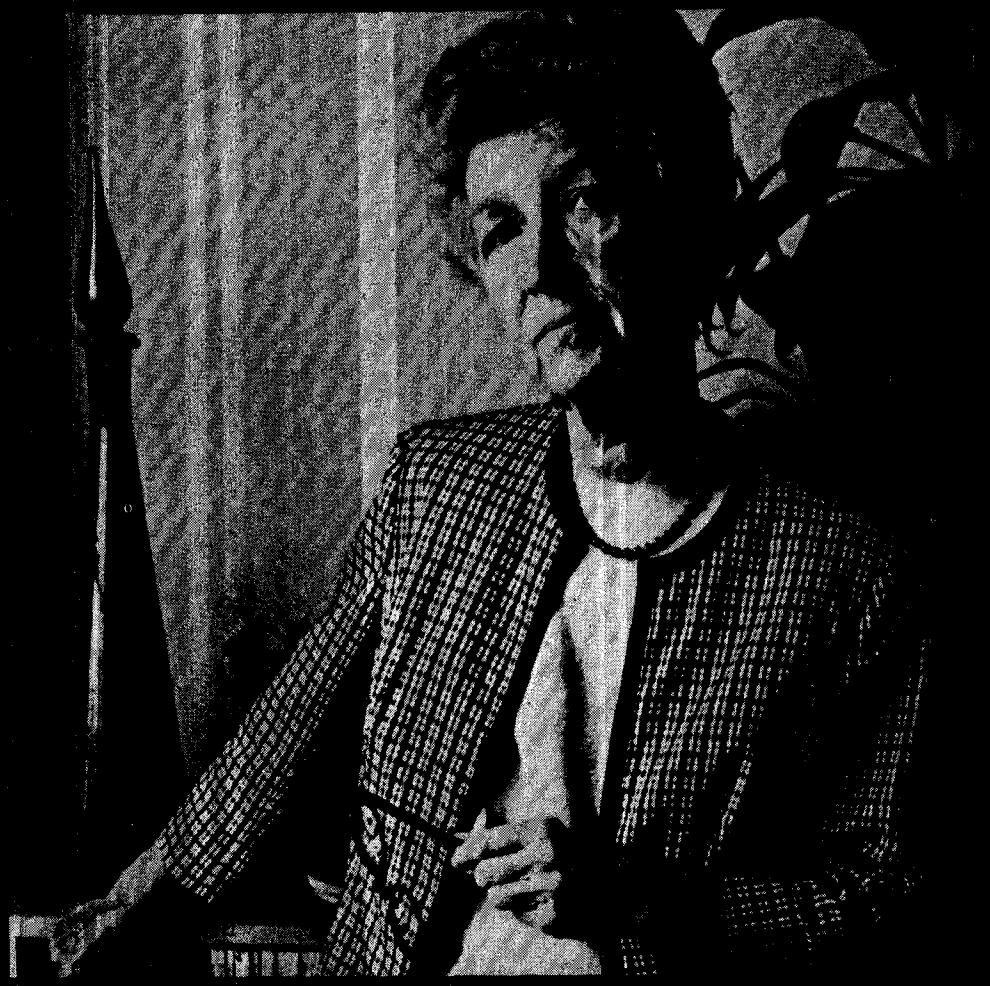

The Hopi Indians' village of Hipaulovi in Arizona sits on land so poor, infertile and inhospitable that so far nobody has tried to take it away from them.

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A COMMUNICATION

The Rights of Parents

If recent experience of New York City schools with decentralization and community control demonstrates anything, it is not that predominantly black and Puerto Rican communities are incapable of operating their schools effectively, but that our liberal institutions consistently misunderstand and misinterpret the current movement for social change.

Symptomatic of the liberal's failure to comprehend the meaning of the school crisis for the city and the nation was Alex Campbell's article, *Lindsay's Poor, Rich New York* (Nov. 16, 1968). His discussion juxtaposes on the one side a liberal, white, predominently Jewish trade union, which supposedly favors decentralization and legitimately defends "due process" rights for teachers, and on the other side, the capricious, anti-middle class, anti-white, anti-Semitic blacks who favor community control in order to create separatist school districts leading to an Americanized apartheid.

The movement for community control is not limited to blacks and Puerto Ricans as implied. For example, the Joan of Arc district on New York's Upper West Side has an unrecognized Governing Board, which has operated since it was elected last June with the participation and strong backing of the whites, mostly middle-class professionals, in the area. One of the three demonstration districts established by the Board of Education, Two Bridges on the Lower East Side, is only 13 percent black, with the remainder almost evenly divided between Chinese-Americans and Puerto Ricans.

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville Governing Board has hired hundreds of teachers since the union walkout last Spring. Currently, whites are 70 percent of the staff in the schools and of these, 50 percent are Jewish. This hardly reflects an anti-Semitic policy of apartheid. The Governing Board wants effective teachers for the children in the community. In black areas the most effective educators and supervisors will very often be black. However, those whites who have demonstrated an ability to relate to their needs have been accepted.

Mr. Campbell says, "Anti-Semitic pamphlets have circulated, darkly warning that Israel may yet have to ransom American Jews." In the context of his article, this statement implies that Ocean Hill-Brownsville officials either initiated or condoned and distributed these materials. With even minimal care, Mr. Campbell could have discovered that the flyer that contained these remarks was anonymously written, secretly placed in teachers' mailboxes and has been specifically disavowed by the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Governing Board and the staff currently working in the schools. If Mr. Campbell had probed further, he would have discovered that the Unit Administrator, Mr. Rhody McCoy, did authorize the dissemination of one flyer, "The Meaning of Rosh Hashanah – The Jewish New Year," which was printed in English and Spanish to explain the significance of these holidays to each student in the district. It is doubtful whether any other school administration in the city went to such efforts to make this aspect of Judaism meaningful to non-Jews.

Mr. Campbell states that the head of the United Federation of Teachers, Albert Shanker, supports decentralization, and merely urges a reduction in the number of school districts from 33 to 15, a suggestion that Mr. Campbell implies is more realistic than the original Bundy proposal. He does not inform readers that the Shanker plan also provides for the continuation of completely centralized personnel hiring procedures. In other words, Mr. Shanker appears to be prepared to decentralize only that authority to the communities that will not threaten his union's preponderant centralized power. In addition, Mr. Campbell does not mention that the UFT under Shanker's leadership spent $250,000 last Spring to block the passage of a meaningful decentralization bill by the New York State legislature.

There *is* a significant relationship between the size of a district and the effectiveness of community involvement and control. The 30 districts in the New York school system have varied from 11,000 to 40,000 students, comparable to the entire system of public education in many other cities. The larger the district, the more difficult it will be for parents and community representatives newly elected to policy-making roles in a decentralized system to exercise their authority constructively and creatively. As one who directed a large, participatory poverty program, (The Child Development Group of Mississippi), I can assure Mr. Campbell that the size and number of districts in New York will be critically important. The larger the district, the greater the likelihood that uninvolved parents will remain powerless, and decision-making will be absorbed by those experienced in manipulating such large institutions.

Mr. Campbell further insists that Shanker is "a highly capable union official." If by this he means that Shanker has amassed tremendous power for the UFT and is now waging a vast and bitter campaign to preserve that power, and in the process has aroused the most regressive and repressive tendencies in the society, I could agree. In assuming the preservation of power in the short run by Machiavellian tactics, Shanker has few peers. In the long run, he has effectively perverted the progressive thrust of unionism and provoked a bitter split both within the ranks of the union movement and with minority communities.

According to the terms of the school strike settlement, Ocean Hill-Brownsville was placed under the control of a State Trustee. On Dec. 2nd, J.H.S. 271 was ordered closed because "outsiders" and other "unauthorized" persons, like the Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, the elected chairman of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Governing Board, were gaining entry. Subsequently, Rhody McCoy, the Unit Administrator, has been summarily reassigned out of the district (with "due process") for refusing to produce detailed written plans to prevent, among other items, such unauthorized personnel from entering the school. The area is again blanketed with an occupying

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rmy of city police provided by Mayor indsay who has retreated from his acillating leadership of the decentralzation forces to a supporting role for he "responsible," "constituted" authorities, the State Department of ducation and the city Board of Eduation. Having occupied the Unit Administrators' offices with a detachment f 100 police, the State Trustee will resumably appoint a replacement and mpose him on the district, by force if ecessary. A cynical double standard or enforcing compliance with legal egulations appears to be in full sway. When the community recently organized demonstrations, two mothers were brutally arrested, because they allegedly told children not to enter the chools. But to date, none of the UFT eachers who left the schools for 36 lays have been prosecuted or punshed. Until "legitimate" state and city uthority can learn to respect and support "legitimate" community authorty, the future will bring only further lemonstrations, boycotts, and efforts o occupy the buildings, and perhaps 'freedom" schools by partisans of ommunity control and school closings, mposition of personnel, and police occupation by state and city authorities.

A similar tragedy is being played out n another demonstration district, the S 201 Complex in Harlem. Here the ssue focused on the provisions of the trike settlements that authorized pening the schools on certain holilays and adding an extra 45 minutes very day so that the striking teachers could make up the salaries lost during the 36 days they had remained out of the schools. In areas of the city where the schools were closed during the strike, the rationale of making up lost educational time was generally accepted, although not without brief outbursts by students. In other areas where the communities had organized to open the schools in this period, there was deep anger at this part of the agreement, which appeared to be nothing more than a financial payoff to teachers who had deserted the children. As black parents spoke at a public meeting in Harlem, they expressed the depths of their feelings: "During the strike the Board of Education ordered all schools open. And many principals and teachers didn't come in. *We* opened the schools. Now the Board says open an extra 45 minutes and holidays and we say no. . . . The UFT struck for the children. Mayor Lindsay is always in conference for the children. Everyone has forgotten that the holidays are for the children. I refuse to have my child suffer for something the teachers did. . . . In the strike we had a crisis. If school is open on the holidays, you'll have civil war in central Harlem."

The confrontation came at PS 39 in East Harlem, where all but ten union teachers had worked during the strike. The IS 201 Governing Board ruled that the school would not be open the Friday after Thanksgiving and the Unit Administrator, Mr. Charles Wilson, directed the teachers to report to his offices if they wished to make up their lost time. The UFT and the teachers insisted that they should work in an open school, and they reported to the Board of Education. After a week of jockeying on both sides, with the familiar pictures of parents blocking the school entrance, institutional might and right won another victory. On Friday, Dec. 6, on the orders of the Superintendent of Schools, police escorted seven teachers into PS 39 so that they could fulfill their "educational" roles, but they found themselves alone in an empty school. Faced with the flouting of what appeared to be a reasonable ruling to close the schools on holidays by their elected Governing Board, the parents and other teachers in the school refused to participate in this educational charade and boycotted the school. In the process, the Board of Education had maintained its agreement with the UFT to the letter, and another demonstration district was in turmoil, over a policy that, incidentally, Shanker says is negotiable and the superintendent, Bernard Donovan, says will probably have to be changed. Since that time, the parents have sustained an almost 100 percent boycott of the school, and the community gives every indication of following this course indefinitely.

Unless there is a drastic reorientation of the forces at work in this city, the outlook for decentralization in the near future is extremely pessimistic. At this writing only the initial outlines of the Board of Education plans for future decentralization are available. Although they make an effort to preserve the broad principles of the original Bundy proposal, for 30 community school districts, under the hammer of the UFT they have retained such extensive and explicit centralized powers for budget control, compliance, and enforcement of agreements, rules, regulations, *and* directives, that no area now organized to fight for community control will be satisfied. In any case, Governor Rockefeller and the leaders of the state legislature, which must approve any future plans, have already stated their preference for decentralization only in five separate Borough public education systems. Such a plan would have little relevance to community control; it would simply substitute five inert, professional, bureaucratic giants for the one that now dominates the city schools.

But the thousands of parents echoing the woman who said to a principal after the strike ended – "This is a new day. We're in the school and we're going to stay, because we want better education for our children. We know that they have been short-changed." – will not stop their struggle, until we learn to listen, to respect and value what they have to say and provide for their creative participation.

JOHN MUDD

Former director of The Child Development Group of Mississippi, Mr. Mudd is a Field Foundation consultant.

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Kauffmann, *from page 24*

what is happening, we know what to expect. What we want from an artwork about war – at this late date in artworks about war – is what we didn't know we expected. Richard Gilman said in this journal (Nov. 25, 1967) that the relevance of Richard Lester's *How I Won the War*

> "is to the way war, or any phenomenon of violence, proceeds in its usurpation of truth and consciousness. And it shows this by extending the film as creator of counter-statements, fecund myths whose weight may be used against all the destructive ones."

Such myths are fecund, when they are, not so much, perhaps, because an artwork creates them as because they were in us, fertile and waiting, and are now touched to fruition by the artist. Bergman only tells us – often beautifully – what we are already aware of, in fact and myth. *Shame* forges no new armor, touches no new core, blazes no deeper shame.

Robert Shaw is first-rate as Stanley in the film of Harold Pinter's *The Birthday Party*. (Sometimes, with glasses, curly hair, and narrowed eyes, he even looks like Pinter.) Shaw has screen-filling presence and the power to suggest memories echoing in a long, arched, troubled mind, together with a hint of violent madness just below the surface. Dandy Nichols is excellent as Meg, his landlady – affectionate, almost moronically innocent of the way he is using her as a punching bag and, by virtue of simple minded devotion, achieving some stature.

The film is worth seeing for those two performances but not for much else. The play itself is Pinter's first full-length work (1958) and seems to me his least good long piece. The agencies of threat are too explicit; the dramatic form is basically a gangster comedy-melodrama (about a wrongdoer punished by other wrongdoers) with all the explanations removed. It's a very good mysterious tease, and the dialogue is superb. (Kenneth Tynan said: "Mr. Pinter's ear ranks with Jenkin's and Van Gogh's among the great ears of history.") But the play is by no means as genuinely mysterious as *The Caretaker* or as savagely funny as *The Homecoming*.

Yet it's very much better than this film. (Screenplay by Pinter.) For one thing, the film seems longer, although the original has been much condensed. (For instance, the theme of Lulu, the seduced girl, is not completed; she doesn't return after the party, as she does in the play.) *The Caretaker*, almost the same length originally, is almost uncut on film and never comes near sagging.

Some of the difference is, obviously, that *The Caretaker* is better to begin with. But this new film surely need not have been tedious. Partly the trouble is Sydney Tafler's performance as Goldberg – actorish, heavy, and imprecise. (Tafler's gestures are fuzzy and poorly timed.) Goldberg is a large part, and we don't want constantly to be conscious of the actor in it. But mostly the trouble is with the direction – by an American newcomer named William Friedkin.

Friedkin is a sort of scion of Sidney Lumet; he seems to have studied the latter's film of *View from the Bridge*. Nothing that could be done simply is left alone. There are lots of shots in mirrors (the very first shot is in a rearview car mirror), sudden cuts to high overhead views, shots through apertures; the camera even leaps forward once to underline a particular word. The screen goes to blackness twice (for what are the act-breaks of the play), goes into distorted negative images in a scare scene, goes out of color into black-and-white in the scenes that take place by flashligh (As if one couldn't see colors by flash light.)

All these lame clevernesses not onl distract us from what's going on, the take time – or at least the distractio makes it seem as if they're taking time So the film drags. Friedkin woul have done better to study what Cliv Donner did – and did not do – in th *Caretaker* film, which is stark, con centrated, and suffocating.

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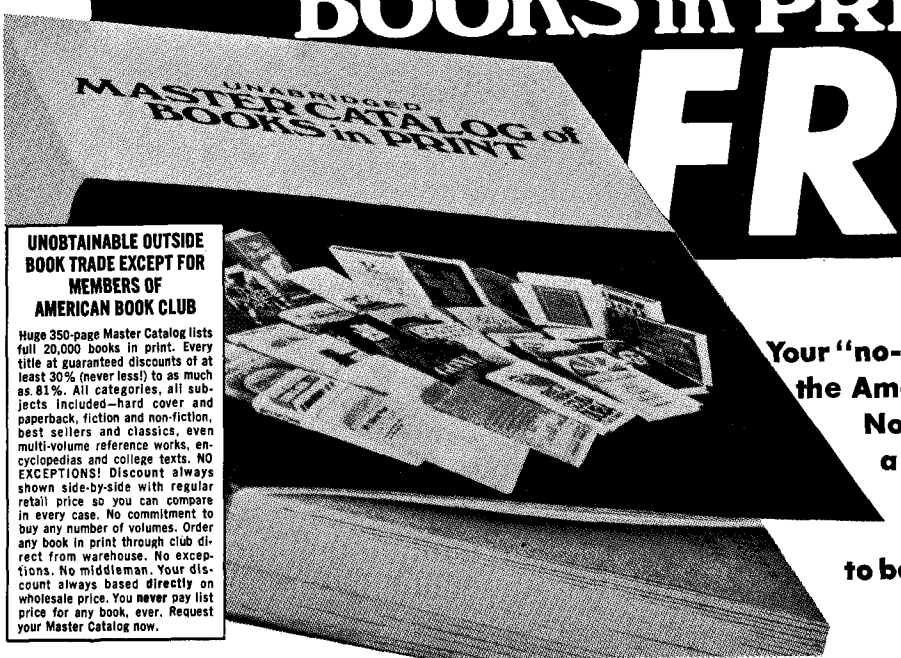

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